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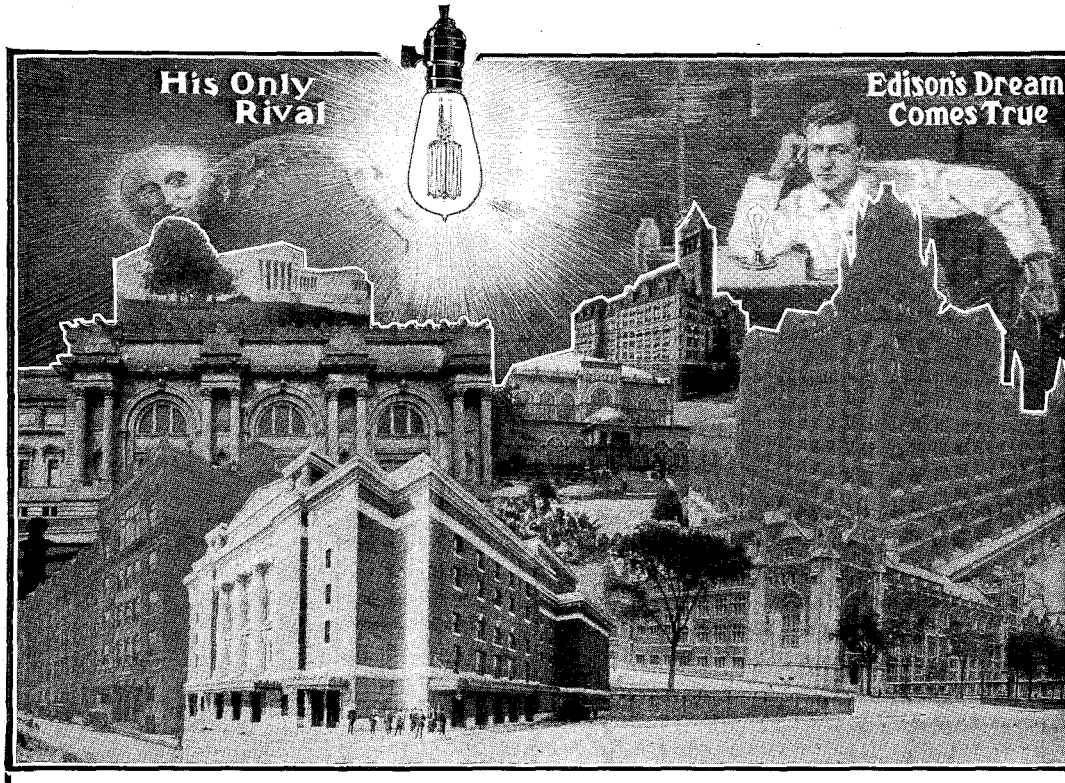

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The Outlook

FEBRUARY 10, 1912

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief HAMILTON W. MABIE Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

THE PRESIDENT ON THE TARIFF ISSUE

President Taft in a speech at Cleveland last week set forth the grounds upon which he believes the Republican Administration to be entitled to continuance in power for the coming four years. At the head of his list of the Administration's achievements he put its dealings with the tariff. The President recalled the pledge in the Republican platform of 1908, that the tariff should be reduced in accordance with the principle that the rates of duty should be sufficient to equal the difference between the cost of production here and abroad, and that an extra session would be called for immediate revision. The extra session was called and the Payne Tariff Law enacted. The bitter attacks upon the law, not only by the Democrats but by certain Republican members of Congress, who contended that the revision did not carry out the pledge of the platform, were aided, in the President's opinion, by misunderstanding and misrepresentation of the facts. "While the Payne Bill," he said, "was not a full compliance with the promise, there were substantial revisions in the bill, and the resulting act did not deserve the anathema and abuse to which it was subjected." Aside from the question of the actual rates of duty, the Payne Law, Mr. Taft pointed out, contains several useful provisions which have brought about a number of notable changes in the policy of the Government. These provisions were: that creating a Court of Customs Appeals, that establishing the maximum and minimum tariff by which the Executive has been able to compel other countries to stop their discriminations against American trade, that providing for the Tariff Board, that providing for free trade with the Philippines, and that establishing the corporation tax, which is bringing in many millions of revenue each year. Of these provisions the most important, in the President's opinion, was the third. By the creation of the Tariff Board, the principle was established of enacting tariff legislation only upon exact information derived from the investigations of an impartial body, and, as a corollary, the further principle that revision of the tariff shall be schedule by schedule. "Nothing has come into the politics of this country," said the President, "of more practical importance than the present united attitude of the Republican party in favor of an impartial non-partisan tariff board, with full opportunity and means to investigate the facts and find the truth with reference to imported merchandise, the cost of manufacture abroad and the cost of manufacture here, and all the other circumstances that ought to affect the rate and imposition of the duties." He further pointed out that the Democrats have departed from the faith in a Tariff Board which a majority of them once embraced, and that at the extra session they passed three tariff bills without waiting for information from the Tariff Board, bills drawn up in such an unscientific, unsystematic, and reckless way that he did not hesitate to veto them. In concluding his comment upon the tariff question the President emphasized the issue presented between the two parties as to the importance of knowledge before action in respect to tariff revision, and declared that in his belief this was the issue upon which the Republicans might safely go before the country, and prove their good faith in regard to a desire to lower duties as far as possible consistent with the protective principle.

THE PRESIDENT ON THE RECORD OF HIS ADMINISTRATION

In addition to his treatment of the tariff question the President reviewed other achievements of his Administration. The Inter-State Commerce Act has been strengthened so that, he said, life and effect have been given

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to the orders of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, with the result that railways cannot minimize or ignore them. A commerce court has been created to relieve the courts in railway cases. In this connection Mr. Taft declared that the abolition of the Commerce Court, which has been demanded by some because of some of its decisions, would be "the most foolish step possible." Growing out of the passage of railway legislation was the appointment of a commission which has now reported upon the wisdom of regulating the issue of stocks and bonds by inter-State commerce railways. The President showed that Congress had enacted a safety appliance law and an employers' liability law which has been sustained by the Supreme Court, had authorized a workmen's compensation commission, created the postal savings banks and a mining bureau, "chiefly to promote the cause of humanity in mining," and taken a forward step toward Conservation. The National Monetary Commission has reported a plan for the improvement of the currency system. An investigation of the feasibility of a parcels post has been made, and another investigation by the Postal Commission, the findings of which will soon be sent to Congress, as to the need of an increase in the second-class rate of postage. In the domain of foreign affairs, the President declared that a new treaty with Japan had settled a vexatious and unpleasant question, and that treaties with Nicaragua and Honduras, which would "put those countries on their feet," and general arbitration treaties with Great Britain and France, are now before the Senate. Regarding the Executive departments, Mr. Taft called attention to the fact that rigid economy had been enforced; that in the first year of his Administration the estimates had been cut upwards of fifty million dollars. With regard to the National defense, the President called attention to the recent massing of the troops on the Mexican border, for the purpose of protecting American rights and steadying the maintenance of law and order in our neighboring republic, as a remarkable showing of our capacity for quick mobilization. Both the Anti-Trust Law and the Inter-State Commerce Act, he said, have been strictly enforced, and business has come to understand that it could live and thrive under them. President Taft has made an interesting presentation of the claims of his Administration to popular approval and popular support. On another page we comment editorially upon this question.

ECONOMY IN THE WRONG PLACE

The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Meyer, points out in a recent statement the shortsightedness of the Democratic majority in Congress in opposing appropriations to build battle-ships, while at the same time taking no steps to cut off perfectly needless expenses for useless navy-yards. This the Secretary well terms "another illustration of government by snap judgment." Every one who does not take the preposterous ground that his country ought to have no navy at all believes that our navy should be modern, effective, and adapted for any possible task which may be laid upon it. A programme which would provide for beginning to build every year two battle-ships would not even keep our navy up to its present effective strength, because, as Mr. Meyer points out, four old battle-ships will in the same time become non-effective. Either we must fall behind or we must build in reasonable number new ships of the Dreadnought type, as all other large nations are now doing. Our immense coast line and our outlying territory must have naval protection, and we must be prepared to maintain the neutrality of the Canal which we have guaranteed. Secretary Meyer sums up the matter in a nutshell when he says: "The Monroe Doctrine is as big as the navy, and no bigger." And with equal epigrammatic force he disposes of our present reckless extravagance as regards naval yards by saying, "A navy for the Nation, and not for local interests, is what should be sought." Mr. Meyer has already in a report pointed out that the United States, with a navy half the size of Great Britain's, maintains twice as many first-class home shipyards. Our eleven shipyards cost over seven million dollars a year, and it is believed that from two to three million dollars a year could be saved by doing away with yards that have more political than practical value. Those at Portsmouth, at Washington, and at Pensacola are the least needed. One may believe thoroughly in the doctrine of economical expenditure, and yet recognize the unreasonableness of the attitude which the present Congress seems inclined to take in refusing to spend money where it ought to be spent and in wasting money where money ought to be saved. This is not the first nor the second

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example of this sort of spurious economy which the present Congress has presented.

THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

The Senate last week, by a vote of fifty-four to twenty, passed the bill creating a Children's Bureau in the Department of Commerce and Labor. The opposition to the bill, as it was voiced in the debate, apparently consisted of solemn warnings of the unconstitutionality of the contemplated action, impassioned advocacy of the doctrine of States' rights, and sentimental appeals for the defense of the sanctity of the home. It is much to be suspected, however, that the real opposition to the bill did not make itself evident in the debate. The purpose of the bill is to create a body which shall gather, classify, and distribute for popular use throughout the country accurate information on all subjects relating to the welfare of children. The Bureau would especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertions, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, and legislation affecting children in the several States. As Mr. Roosevelt said in a recent article in The Outlook, "During the five years the bill has been before Congress no valid argument has been presented against it. The chief reason for the failure of the bill thus far has been that it is solely in the interest of the conservation of human resources and does not directly touch any material interest. It is therefore devoid of features which would win selfish and self-interested advocacy; and the persons who desire to continue to exploit the labor of children are naturally against it. It is a scandal to the American Nation that our National Government has proved so supine in doing what it can to promote the welfare of the children of the country." A similar bill passed the House of Representatives in the last Congress. There is strong reason to hope that it will now pass the House again and thus become law. It is difficult to see what excuse the members of the House could have for refusing to join with the Senate in action which would enable our Government, as we have often said before, to begin to show as much care for American children as it at present shows, through the operation of the Department of Agriculture, for American hogs and cattle.

MR. BRANDEIS AND THE STEEL CORPORATION

Last week Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, the well-known Boston attorney, was heard by the Stanley Committee of the House of Representatives on the attitude of the Steel Corporation toward labor. Mr. Brandeis placed the number of persons employed by the Steel Trust at two hundred thousand, although he added that, counting in the families of those employees, and the employees of concerns more or less dependent upon the Steel Trust, one might say that a million persons are directly and indirectly affected. With regard to the hours of labor of the Steel Trust's employees, Mr. Brandeis declared, as reported, that most of the employees worked seven days a week, and that twenty per cent of them work eighty hours a week. If so, this would mean practically a twelve-hour day. Comparing the attitude of the Steel Corporation toward labor to the attitude of the steel manufacturers of England, Mr. Brandeis said, as reported:

> In England some of the steel operatives work fifty-two hours a week, and others sixty-two hours a week. The English have found that they can take care of the continuous operation necessary in the production of steel by simple arithmetic. They divide the twenty-four hours into three shifts of eight hours each instead of two shifts of twelve hours each. The paper mills of Maine have solved their problem in the same way.

The idea that the steel worker is well paid is a fallacy, according to Mr. Brandeis. At the present time, he declared, sixty-five per cent of the steel workers are unskilled, and the pay they receive cannot be termed good pay. Referring to statistics concerning some twenty-five thousand employees at 165 blast furnaces, he said that about twelve per cent of them earn between twelve and fourteen cents an hour, and nearly seventeen per cent between fourteen and sixteen cents. Mr. Fitch, who conducted the Pittsburgh Survey on the steel industry, is reported to have confirmed, in his testimony before the Committee, Mr. Brandeis's statement of facts. The Outlook has repeatedly commended the Steel Corporation for what it has done in advancing the conditions of labor. At the same time, as shown by Mr. Roosevelt's recent article in The Outlook on the conditions of women's and children's labor, we must have an immediate sympathy with any conditions still shown to be inadequate. The revelation of such conditions as these has doubtless been one of the causes leading to

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a demand for the passage of a law providing for a lower tariff on steel, thus depriving capital of unreasonable protection, and in general for a more equitable relation between capital and labor.

THE WILSON-HARVEY EPISODE

On Tuesday evening last week the New York "Evening Post," with the permission of both the gentlemen concerned, published in full the letters which have passed between Governor Wilson and Colonel George Harvey, who is the editor of "Harper's Weekly," regarding the abandonment of Governor Wilson's candidacy by that journal. The facts, to outline what The Outlook has already recounted, are these: For many months Colonel Harvey had been urging in the columns of "Harper's Weekly" the nomination and election of Governor Wilson as President, and had been keeping the latter's name standing at the head of the "Weekly's" editorial column. In the issues of "Harper's Weekly" of December 14 and December 21 there was noticeable omission of any reference to Governor Wilson's name. Public comment became so general that about the middle of January Colonel Harvey printed an editorial in "Harper's Weekly" containing this statement: "The name of Woodrow Wilson as our candidate for President was taken down from the head of these columns in response to a statement made to us directly by Governor Wilson to the effect that our support was affecting his candidacy injuriously." Following this statement, Colonel Henry Watterson, the veteran editor of the Louisville "Courier-Journal," attacked Governor Wilson for what Colonel Watterson asserted was an unfriendly, ungrateful, and ungenerous action on the part of Governor Wilson towards the editor of "Harper's Weekly." The full correspondence now published shows that, in reply to a question from Colonel Harvey, Governor Wilson did state that the support of "Harper's Weekly" was hurting his candidacy; that he made this answer "simply as a matter of fact, and of business," without expressing gratitude; that he thought he ought to apologize, and did apologize, for "hurting a true friend;" that it was not the quality of "Harper's Weekly's" support which he found injurious, but the common doubt with regard to "the real independence of the 'Weekly's' position;" and that Governor Wilson believes that no one has described him more nearly as he would like to believe himself to be than has Colonel Harvey.

PROBABLE POLITICAL EFFECT OF THIS EPISODE

If these letters had passed between two gentlemen in private life with regard to a slight personal misunderstanding, no fault could be found with their tone or spirit. But Governor Wilson is not in private life; he is a public personage of distinction, and his treatment of a political misunderstanding of this kind is a matter of important public interest. At the time of his break with Colonel Harvey The Outlook had no criticism to make, for we think that the support of "Harper's Weekly" has been injurious to Governor Wilson, but not on the ground which his letters seem to intimate. Radical Democrats in the West have had the feeling that "Harper's Weekly" was controlled by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. This is what the French call an *idée fixe*, and has as much substance as such hallucinations generally have. No evidence has been advanced to give cause for suspicion that Mr. Morgan controls Mr. Harvey's political and journalistic opinions. Mr. Harvey's support of Governor Wilson in "Harper's Weekly" has been, in our opinion, open to criticism on other grounds—the grounds of good taste. On these grounds we think Governor Wilson would have been justified in asking "Harper's Weekly" to restrain its enthusiasm. But it appears from the correspondence that Governor Wilson admires Colonel Harvey "for the independence and unhesitating courage and individuality of his course." There are two interpretations of this correspondence. One is that in this instance Governor Wilson permitted himself to be governed by reasons of political expediency, to break friendship, in a manner which he himself has called tactless, with a man for whom, since the event, he has expressed personal regard and friendship in the strongest terms. If this interpretation prevails, the publication of these letters will have an important political effect, because we believe the American people do not care to see in their representatives any lack of courage in dealing with any evil, such as the evil of personal gossip, and do not want their high public officials to let mere political expediency govern matters of heart or conscience. But there is another interpretation that does more credit to Governor Wilson. It is that when he made his reply to Colonel Harvey

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he had, as he later explained in one of his letters, no desire that the "Weekly" should cease to support him; but that he failed to realize what effect a blunt answer to a question of fact would have upon a sensitive and admiring friend. This, it seems to us, is the more charitable interpretation, as it more clearly accords with the statements in the correspondence. If it prevails, it will tend to place Mr. Wilson in public estimation in the category of public men, like former Governor Hughes, who are so earnest in the statement of fact and the discussion of public questions that they tend to minimize the importance of personal relationship in political affairs.

THE SLUGGISHNESS OF JUSTICE

Last week a young man named Wolter was executed in New York. The murder for which he suffered the penalty was committed on March 24, 1910. He was brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced within thirty-four days. But his execution did not take place until twenty-one months later. The short interval between the crime and the conviction affords an excellent example of the way in which the criminal law ought to work. The interval, twenty times as long, between the conviction and the punishment affords an excellent example of the way in which the criminal law ought not to work but actually does work in this country. Two months ago the Criminal Court of Appeals of the State of Oklahoma handed down an opinion which contained some very pertinent comment upon this sluggishness in the administration of our criminal law. The Court quoted statistics showing that in four years only forty persons were tried for murder in the city of London, and that during eight years eighty per cent of the persons tried for crime in England were convicted. It also reported figures showing that during the year 1910 nearly nine thousand persons died by personal violence in the United States, and that during that year there were two hundred and two homicides in the city of Chicago alone. What is more significant is that in Chicago during that year only one person was senenced to death for homicide. The opinion says: "When a man kills another in England, the chances of his escape from punishment are exceedingly small, and the probability of his speedy prosecution and execution stares him directly in the face. It cannot be denied that this exercises a wholesome and restraining influence upon the passions of men, and results in respect for and confidence in the law, and consequent protection to society. . . . We inherited our criminal jurisprudence from England. The trouble is, we have endeavored to maintain it just as we received it, and we are still striving as hard as England did before the Revolutionary War to maintain technical regularity and form at the sacrifice of everything else. On the other hand, in England the trial of criminal cases has been simplified, and many of the arbitrary technical rules of the common law, the effect of which was to hinder, delay, and defeat justice, have been abolished, while America keeps on using the old, antiquated, worn-out, second-hand, cast-off legal garments with reference to the enforcement of criminal law which England has long since discarded and thrown away. . . . It is time that the courts of America should act for the present and the future, and consider the past only for the purpose of avoiding the mistakes therein made. If the courts desire to enjoy public confidence and respect, they must earn it by basing their decisions alone upon substance, and by paying more attention to justice than to shadows, form, and technical regularity." The facts in the Wolter case and the comment of the Oklahoma Court arouse two reflections—one, that the problem which the Court so admirably states is one of the most serious which the American people have to solve; the other, that a Court which does not hesitate to state the problem so frankly and incisively is in little danger of recall.

A DEFENSE AGAINST OPPRESSION

Once on a time the question as to what wages should be paid by an employer to an employee was one to be decided by agreement between the two, and in many cases it is so to-day. So was the question as to what the conditions and the hours of work should be. This is, however, no longer universally true. When, as in many industries, those questions affect not one or two or half a dozen people, but thousands, when a single decision determines the standard of living for the great mass of a city's population, those questions have ceased to be private questions and have become public. Under modern conditions, to leave this arrangement wholly between employer and employee often means leaving them to the

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decision of the least humane, the most oppressive, of employers. Indeed, there is no question now as to the right or the duty of Government, either in State or in Nation, as the case may be, to set a limit upon the hours which an employer may require his employees to work. Such a limitation, however, is altogether inadequate by itself, for there is little advantage if, when hours of labor are reduced, wages are reduced likewise. People who find it hard to keep alive and well on wages paid for excessive labor are not helped if, when the State relieves them from too great labor, it does not provide in some way that they shall not be deprived of their scanty means of livelihood. Massachusetts, which has laws setting legal limits to the hours of a day's work, is now considering the question of setting limits below which wages for a day's work shall not be reduced. A commission appointed by the Governor under legislative authority has been investigating this question and has decided upon a bill. This measure is drafted along very conservative lines. It affects only the employment of women and children, and it is intended to affect them only so far as to afford them the protection of the State against the reduction of wages to a point where they became insufficient "to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health."

WHAT IS PROPOSED IN MASSACHUSETTS

The bill provides for a permanent Minimum Wage Commission, to be appointed by the Governor, which shall organize "wage boards." These wage boards are planned to act as boards of inquiry and arbitration. A board is to be organized whenever the question of insufficient wages is raised in any one occupation, and it is to be made up of representatives of the employers, the employees, and the public. The recommendation of such a board is to be referred to the Commission, which will then issue its order. Certainly no objection to this plan can reasonably be taken from the employer's point of view; for not only must the employer be represented on the board that makes the recommendation, but also, if any employer is dissatisfied with the order, he retains the right to shut down his business and throw all his employees out of work. There is ample precedent in other countries for such a Minimum Wage Commission. The strike in the city of Lawrence, one of the principal industrial cities of Massachusetts, which is described and interpreted by a special correspondent of The Outlook on another page in this issue, supplies an illustration of the fact that this question of wages and of hours of work is one that vitally affects the whole community, and cannot be ignored by the State. When industry has become so powerful that employers must invoke the arm of the State for their protection, it is time that the employee should also have the right to use for his protection governmental power, just as surely as the citizen at large must be protected from that type of "idealist" described by our correspondent at Lawrence who halts at no crime which may (as he thinks) help bring on a social revolution. It is the State which calls out the militia to protect the property of the employer. It is the State which ought to call out the intelligence of its citizenship to protect the lives and welfare of the employee.

A "LITTLE NAVY" THAT DOES BIG WORK

In that Message from President Taft to Congress which summarized the recommendations of the Commission on Economy and Efficiency in the Government service one of the many suggestions made was that the Revenue Cutter Service be "abolished," on the ground that about a million dollars a year might be saved thereby, and that, in the opinion of the Commission, "its varied activities can be performed with equal or greater advantage by other services." This is a rather curt comment; brevity of treatment by the Commission was doubtless necessary because so many topics were to be treated in brief space. Standing as it does, the comment hardly does justice to one of the bravest and most efficient of the minor branches of National work. Even if the service be "abolished," let us hope that neither the vessels nor the men who have made so fine a record in the past will be waved aside or put out of commission. The United States has now no fewer than nine hundred vessels which do not belong to the Naval Department. There is doubtless an appearance at least of lack of economy and lack of system in these eleven little navies acting without common purpose or common control. One suggestion has been made that several of these small forces might be combined under what could be called a coast guard service. It is even possible that

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the Revenue Cutter Service, as the only armed service, might be put at the head of this combined coast service. The fact that the revenue cutters make comparatively few arrests is not a measure of their usefulness, because it is the very existence of the service which prevents the necessity of such arrests, and to remove it would be to court violations of the law. But to be the watch-dogs of the custom laws is only a small part of the work of the revenue cutters. In ten years these boats have actually saved from drowning four hundred and ninety-two people; have aided nearly seventeen hundred vessels in distress: have taken care of over thirty-four hundred persons who were in distress; while in the last four years they have destroyed eighty-nine derelicts. This is a splendid record of good work done, and includes scores of instances of romance, adventure, and daring. The Revenue Cutter Service is a practical school of naval training, and it is from the ranks of such men as its hardy officers that the best material may be drawn in times of real emergency. The officers are marine engineers and naval architects as well as seamen. They design their own ships, inspect the building of them, and afterwards sail them. The ships and their crews and officers are constantly engaged in sea work of the most arduous kind; they are drilled constantly in the use of guns; they form a small but valuable naval reserve with officers and men hardened to sea life and sea work. We hope that Congress will not forget these facts in any plan for consolidation and economy. We do not doubt that the whole question of "little navies," as well as many other of the business efficiency suggestions in the Commission's report, are worth thought and will suggest action. But whatever is done, the greatest care should be taken not to lose the expert skill and training already acquired in such service as that we have described.

THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON: THE SITE

Last year Congress appropriated two million dollars for a Lincoln Memorial at Washington, and appointed a Lincoln Memorial Commission, with President Taft as Chairman, to determine upon and to procure a site and plan and to employ the services of architects, sculptors, and landscape artists. Congress also charged this Commission to avail itself of the services of the Federal Commission of Fine Arts, and to report all recommendations to Congress for its approval. The report of the Fine Arts Commission to the Memorial Commission last summer expressed the conviction that the popular ideal of a Lincoln Memorial would be satisfied only by a design combining grandeur with beauty, and that a large monument should stand where its environment can be specially designed to harmonize with it. Of all the sites suggested, only that of the Potomac Park was satisfactory to the Commission. The Potomac Park, created by Congress and owned by the Government, comprises a great area along the Potomac, raised above the highest river floods, readily accessible, and, despite its comparative isolation, already a place of popular resort. But that very isolation makes it possible to treat the surroundings in such a way as would best enhance the effect of any monumental memorial placed in the park. And the true effect of such a memorial can be realized when we remember that a monumental structure, standing in a broad plain and surrounded by an amphitheater of hills, is as widely seen and as impressive as if it were on a hilltop. In addition to this general principle, the Potomac Park site is upon the main east and west axis in line with the Capitol and the Washington Monument; that is to say, a straight line drawn from the Capitol through the Washington Monument to the Potomac would cross the park site. Such a location appealed to Secretary Hay, who once wrote concerning it: "As I understand it, the place of honor is on the main axis. . . . Lincoln, of all Americans, next to Washington, deserves this place of honor. He was of the Immortals. We must not approach too close to the Immortals. His monument should stand alone, remote from the common habitations of man, apart from the business and turmoil of the city; isolated, distinguished, and serene. Of all the sites, this one near the Potomac is most suited to the purpose."

THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL: THE PLAN

To avoid competition with the Capitol or the Washington Monument, the Lincoln Memorial, in the opinion of the Fine Arts Commission, should not include a dome, and should not be characterized by great height, but by strong horizontal lines.

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As to a designer, the Commission did not recommend selection by competition, but the selection of an artist who, when appointed, would submit designs of various types and afterwards develop that one which the Lincoln Memorial Commission might approve, the appointment of such a designer to be subject to recall if he were found unsatisfactory. The Memorial Commission appointed Mr. Henry Bacon, of New York City, whose name had been placed in nomination by the Fine Arts Commission. Mr. Bacon accepted the appointment, and for several months has given his whole time to the making of designs for the Memorial, which have now culminated in a final plan. Originally, the expectation of many was that the Lincoln Memorial would take the form of an open portico in conjunction with a statue of heroic size. Mr. Bacon discarded this idea, on the ground that an object of veneration by the people has generally been set apart and inclosed. The Greeks, for instance, placed the statues of their gods in temples, and not in the open. Hence Mr. Bacon would place the proposed statue of Lincoln in a great rectangular hall, inclosed by marble walls, on which would be inscribed the Gettysburg speech and the Second Inaugural. To the right and left of the statue, and at equal distance from each end, screens of four Ionic columns would be placed across the hall. The exterior would resemble a Greek temple, surrounded by a colonnade of thirty-six Doric columns forty feet high, the material, like that of the interior, to be white marble. The thirty-six columns would represent the thirty-six States in the Union in Lincoln's time. The effect of the building would be heightened by placing it, as Mr. Bacon proposes, on a circular terrace, a thousand feet in diameter, to be raised eleven feet above the present grade. On the outer edge of this terrace four rows of trees would be planted, leaving in the center a plateau. In the center of this plateau a further terrace would be raised, sixteen feet high and five hundred feet in diameter, on which the Lincoln Memorial would stand. The whole plan reflects credit upon Mr. Bacon, an architect whose specialty has long been the designing of the proper setting for monuments. Working with such sculptors as Saint-Gaudens, French, Bitter, and Niehaus, he has designed the architectural setting for more than sixty monuments. But it is on his latest achievement, we believe, that his reputation will chiefly rest.

A COMMUNITY THEATER

Pittsfield is one of the most delightful of the old Massachusetts towns, charmingly situated, with shaded streets and many delightful old homes, and with an unusual number of delightful people; in other words, a community which represents the best of old and new New England. A very interesting experiment is being tried there by the Pittsfield Theater Company. It is impossible to ignore the passion of the American people for amusement; they are now as determined to be entertained as a few years ago they were determined to work. In all parts of the country the picture shows and other forms of cheap entertainment are crowded. Some of the picture entertainments are not only interesting but distinctly educational; many of them are frivolous; a few of them are bad. The question is: What shall be put in their place? A company of fifty gentlemen in Pittsfield, representing the professions, life insurance, manufacturing, banking, journalism, and art, have bought the Colonial Theater in the town, cleansed and re-equipped it, with special reference to the physical comfort of the performers, which is often greatly neglected in theaters outside of the great cities. They declare that they do not start in either as "high-brow reformers or theatrical experts;" but they believe that in a town like Pittsfield "the theater justifies a consideration not dissimilar to that with which we regard our public library or our art museum." These gentlemen are leading the way in a movement which ought to be widespread. They have faced, not a theory, but a condition, and they will discover that, so far as immediate popular use is concerned, the theater is of more importance in a community than either the art museum or the public library. It reaches the class of people who most need help and in whom the community ought to have the deepest interest, so many are they, and in so many cases are they deprived of the best things of life. This committee asks for advice or suggestion. They are in the way to lead rather than to follow, but they are wise to take counsel with experience and to put their enterprise on a solid business foundation. If they can keep out of the hands of the theatrical "cranks" who wish to give the people, not what will interest

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the people, but what they think the people ought to have, according to classical tradition, if they will arrange for popular prices, secure good actors, and treat the theater as a community institution in the same sense as an art museum and a library are community institutions, The Outlook has small doubt of their success.

MEETING OF THE ACADEMY AND OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND LETTERS

The joint meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Letters and the National Institute of Arts and Letters was held last week in Philadelphia, and the two sessions were attended by large and deeply interested audiences. Fortunately, the first session of the two organizations in Philadelphia was coincident with the election of a Mayor who is a leader in the movement for civic reform in that city; and his few words of welcome to the members of the Academy and the Institute were happily suggestive of his breadth of view and his recognition that art is as essential as commerce in the making of a great community. Mr. Brander Matthews presented a very ingenious and interesting view of Shakespeare as an actor. Mr. George McLean Harper, of Princeton, traced the influence of Rousseau and Godwin on Wordsworth. Mr. Edgar Stillman Kelley commanded the closest attention of his audience in discussing, among other questions, the relation of music to the drama. The audience had the pleasure of hearing what was really an inside chapter of history from Charles Francis Adams in a brief but very luminous review of the Trent affair. In the absence of Mr. Birge Harrison, Mr. John W. Alexander read a characteristic paper by that distinguished artist on "The American Temperament," in which he expressed, incidentally, a very hopeful view of the influence on this country of a great deal of the immigration from southern Europe. Mr. Walter Cook read a paper on "Some of the Conditions of Architectural Design," which happily combined humor with a serious treatment of some of the problems which the architect faces. Mr. Mabie read a paper on Theocritus. The presence of Dr. Furness and Dr. S. Weir Mitchell gave special interest to the reception in the afternoon. Charters incorporating the Academy and the Institute are now before Congress. Their early passage is greatly to be hoped for as part of the notable advance of the country in all the arts, which is rapidly removing the reproach of American sterility in creative work. The Institute confers a gold medal annually on the best work by a living artist, or upon the work recently done in some department of art. The first medal was conferred on the work of Saint-Gaudens in the department of sculpture. Last year it was conferred upon Mr. James Ford Rhodes, in the department of history; this year the medal, given for the first time in the field of poetry, was conferred upon Mr. James Whitcomb Riley, and the announcement was met with heartfelt commendation.

CHRISTMAS AND THE POST-OFFICE

A survey of the kinds of mail sent through the post-offices of the country in the recent Christmas season shows that there is going on an evolution in the system of gift-giving. The tonnage of mail has decreased enormously in the recent Christmas season compared to the same period in 1909 and 1910; but the number of pieces of mail sent is greatly on the increase. This is due to the millions of cards bearing words of greeting appropriate to the season that were sent in December through the post-offices on their cheer-giving errands. In fact, Americans gradually for the last two years have been replacing the old method of gift-giving by merchandise with a new method of exchange of attractive Christmas cards. That this new spirit of a saner Christmas will grow there seems no doubt. The gift-giving had become a nightmare with many persons in recent years, and had reached its zenith in 1909. It had been on the increase for many years. It had so grown that one had to keep books against Christmas, and the new year opened with a nervous breakdown and with the poorer persons nearly in bankruptcy. One postmaster tells of meal and milk tickets being presented as gifts. Of course the candy-colored suspenders, misfit hose, and unfit cigars that no one ever had use for have had an important part in alienating the Christmas shopper. People finally saw that this must stop somewhere. No one believes that we have entirely recovered. But the postmasters, readers of the signs as given by the shipments of mail, tell us that we are on our way, at any rate, to a better appreciation of how Christmas should be celebrated in the giving of gifts.

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THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ADMINISTRATION

In his speech at Cleveland last week President Taft did not state as strongly as he might have stated the constructive acts of his own record. On another page we summarize what he said about his Administration. To the list of achievements there enumerated should be added certain others. It should not be forgotten that during Mr. Taft's Administration—

The Inter-State Commerce Commission has been empowered to investigate all important railway accidents;

The White Mountain Appalachian Forest Reservation and other reserves on forested watersheds have been created and provided for;

The President has been empowered to conclude a reciprocity agreement with Canada;

Publicity has been provided for all political contributions to all National campaign committees for the election of Representatives and Senators;

A National Art Commission has been established.

The case, then, on behalf of what has been done during his Administration is even stronger than Mr. Taft's own presentation of it. It is a record in which, not only as a great lawyer and judge, but also as an eminent public man, he has reason for taking pride.

Why is it, then, that in the face of such a record there should be widespread popular discontent with the Administration, not only on the part of the President's political opponents, but also within the ranks of the President's own party? The reasons, we believe, may be, in the main, grouped in three categories.

In the first place, the President has allowed himself to become identified in the public mind with those elements in his party which have been frankly opposed to progress. It was not, for example, merely his defense of the Payne Aldrich Tariff Act, as made in his Winona speech, that set the Progressive element in his own party to questioning his attitude; it was even more the evidence that in the conferences over the tariff he seemed to find most congenial to him those leaders in the party who had been most opposed to real tariff reform. Another illustration of this point was the famous Norton letter, in which it was admitted that the President had used Federal patronage against the Progressives in Congress. This feeling on the part of the Progressive element in the party has been confirmed by many expressions of the President himself. A notable illustration occurs in the closing sentence of his Cleveland speech: "On this, the natal day of William McKinley, let us take new vows in behalf of the Grand Old Party, standing by the Constitution, standing by the rights of liberty and property of the individual, and willing to face defeat many times in behalf of the cause of sound Constitutional government." This might have been said in exactly these words by Mr. Cannon or any of the so-called standpatters who believe that the prime function of party government is to promote material prosperity or mere money-making. In such a sentence there is no hint of that feeling for which the Progressive element of Mr. Taft's party stands, that feeling which is growing more and more throughout the country—that in the end, when human rights clash with property rights, human rights should prevail. In this sentence there is no hint of really sympathetic understanding of that movement which has changed the complexion of Congress and which has put the reactionary element in both parties on the defensive.

In the second place, the people of the country have come to regard the President as being interested more in the machinery of government than in the promotion of human welfare. He has done much to create and crystallize public opinion with regard to such matters as the tariff, as the Commerce Court, as judicial procedure; but with regard to the more vital questions the people have not felt his leadership. On the question of the draining of the country population into the city, the question of turning desert lands into a region of homes, the question of decent hours of labor and adequate wages, the question of lynchings, the question of pure food, the question of the protection of children—on all such questions as these the American people have not felt the leadership of the President, and they have missed it.

In the third place, the people have come to feel that President Taft is primarily an interpreter of laws rather than an administrator of laws. When he speaks with regard to the meaning of such an act as the Sherman Act, they listen attentively and regard his opinion as they would regard the opinion of a justice of the Supreme Court. But with regard to the execution of the laws as they apply to the innumerable interests of the

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people, they feel the lack of those quick decisions that mark the able Executive. They remember the Pinchot-Ballinger imbroglio, and cannot help feeling that under real administrative leadership that controversy would never have been allowed to come into the domain of Congress. They remember more than one difficulty in the diplomatic service which no one in the Administration seemed to regard as important enough to settle. They noted what looked like a conspiracy to hamper Dr. Wiley in the administration of the Pure Food Law, and, though they welcomed the President's decision in favor of Dr. Wiley, they feel that the question still remains unsettled. And they have fresh in their minds the instance of a Cabinet official making recommendations not only without the President's approval, but even against the President's own convictions.

No President in recent years has won for himself more widespread personal admiration for kindliness, for candor, and for integrity than President Taft. Few Presidents have made a more conspicuous record than he. The time has not yet come when his Administration can be fairly weighed in the balance. If, however, he does not receive a vote of confidence, it will not be because of personal unpopularity or personal distrust, but because the people have come to believe, not that human rights must be made to fit the Constitution, but that the Constitution must be made to fit human rights.

PROGRESSIVE PRINCIPLES

In his speech at Carnegie Hall in New York Mr. La Follette described the principles for which the Progressive Republicans stand. They are five in number:

Popular election of United States Senators.

Popular primaries for all officials, from road-master to President.

Initiative.

Referendum.

Recall.

He also advocated woman suffrage, but this was not included in his list of Progressive principles.

All these principles have to do with the machinery of government. They are not ends to be sought, but methods of securing certain ends. They are methods rather than principles. They all have a common character; they all tend to give the people a more direct participation in government. That is desirable. But what these methods will accomplish depends on what use the people make of them. They are simply political conveniences to facilitate the expression of the popular judgment and the popular will. Their value will depend on the wisdom of the popular judgment and the strength of the popular will.

Massachusetts without popular election of Senators elected Daniel Webster, who represented the intellectual aristocracy of Massachusetts; Charles Sumner, who represented its radicalism; and Henry Wilson, who represented its working population. And other States have elected other Senators, whom we will not here mention, who have reflected no honor on either the State or the Nation. Popular primaries have given some very good candidates in some elections, but some very poor candidates in other elections. What the initiative will initiate, what the referendum will decide, and whom the recall will recall depends absolutely on the public sentiment of the hour. They are means, more or less desirable, for expressing the public will; they are not assertions of fundamental rights. Far more important than these five improvements in the machinery of democracy are the following five principles of industrial democracy. They are more fundamental because the ends to be sought are more important than the means for securing them:

A tariff revision so adjusted as to secure equal taxation on all the people and equal benefit for all the people, not taxation of the many for the benefit of special interests.

The right of the public to keep the ownership and the control of the property which belongs to the public and to prevent it from passing into the ownership and under the control of special interests.

Such Government regulation and control of the public highways—municipal, State, and National—as will give all the people equal rights in the use of all the highways, and special interests no special privileges in the use of any.

Such Governmental control and regulation of great combinations, whether of labor or capital, as will secure the protection of the rights and interests of the individual against the despotic power of the mass.

Adequate protection of the person and property of all citizens from crimes, whether of fraud or of violence; and, specifically, such protection of the rights and interests of

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the workingman and the woman and the child as will remove the occasion of those labor wars which have resulted from leaving the workingman to protect his rights and interests for himself, and as will enable these men, women, and children to make the best possible use of their powers.

These principles are more fundamental than the conveniences which Mr. La Follette defined as Progressive principles. Because, if the people are instructed in these principles of industrial democracy, and are inspired with a resolution to maintain them, they will be able to incorporate them in our civic and industrial life without Mr. La Follette's modern conveniences; whereas with Mr. La Follette's modern conveniences they will establish nothing, unless they clearly perceive what are the popular rights to be maintained and are resolute to maintain them.

The conveniences are more or less desirable. The principles are essential.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

"I believe in woman's rights. I believe even more earnestly in the performance of duty by both men and women; for unless the average man and the average woman live lives of duty, not only our democracy but civilization itself will perish. I heartily believe in equality of rights as between man and woman, but also in full and emphatic recognition of the fact that normally there cannot be identity of function. Indeed, there must normally be complete dissimilarity of function between them, and the effort to ignore this patent fact is silly. I believe in woman's suffrage wherever the women want it. Where they do not want it, the suffrage should not be forced upon them. I think that it would be well to let the women themselves, and only the women, vote at some special election as to whether they do or do not wish the vote as a permanent possession. In other words, this is peculiarly a case for the referendum to those most directly affected—that is, the women themselves."

With this paragraph, taken from Mr. Roosevelt's article on "Women's Rights" in last week's Outlook, I heartily agree. We have reached the same conclusion, though by a somewhat different road. I here sketch the approach which has led me to this conclusion.

When I thought of the suffrage as a right, I believed in woman's suffrage because I believe in equality of rights as between man and woman. When I came to see that suffrage is not a right, but a duty, I ceased to believe in woman suffrage, because I do not believe that the duties of men and women are the same.

The primary function of government is to protect persons and property. It has other and important functions; but this is its first and fundamental function. If it protects persons and property well, it is a good government though it undertake no other function. If it fails to protect persons and property, it is an inefficient, and therefore a bad, government, whatever other function it may undertake.

Hitherto women have been exempt from the duty of protecting persons and property. I believe it is their right to be exempt from that duty. Woman suffrage would impose it upon them. Therefore I am opposed to woman suffrage; unless they desire to assume it.

Two questions are involved in the question of woman suffrage. One is addressed to women: Do you wish to assume a share in the responsibility of government from which in the past you have been exempt?

The other is addressed to men: Will you impose upon women a share in the responsibility of government from which they have hitherto been exempt?

It is this second question alone which I consider in this article. I do not think that men ought to impose on women a share in the responsibilities of government from which they have hitherto been exempt.

It is true that in the last half-century the functions of government have been greatly enlarged. This is partly because the protection of persons and property is more complicated under modern conditions than it was in more primitive times.

Health boards have been organized to protect persons from needless disease; regulation of the liquor traffic and of amusements, and prohibition of gambling-houses and houses of ill fame, have been instituted to protect persons and property from the perils they inflict on the innocent and the unwary; regulation of railways to protect the right of the people to the equal use of the Nation's highways; Conservation to protect the right of the public to public property; regulation of great combinations to protect the right to freedom of trade. Other extensions have involved Government in co-operative enterprise for the

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common welfare of all the people. Such are the public schools, the carriage of the mails and of packages, the regulation of banks, including post-office savings banks, the work of the Agricultural Department, and the like.

This extension has given to some women a desire to participate in the work of government. But it does not give to men the right to impose on them responsibility for such participation if they do not so desire.

I am opposed to imposing that responsibility upon them, a responsibility from which they have hitherto been exempt, except upon adequate evidence that they desire to assume that responsibility. The evidence now seems to me overwhelming that they do not desire to assume it.

In 1895 the State of Massachusetts asked the women of that State to vote on the question whether they wished the ballot. Less than four per cent of the women of the State voted that they desired it.

Two or three years ago a bill was proposed to the New York Legislature to give the women of that State an opportunity to vote on the question whether they wished to vote. The opposition from the advocates of woman suffrage was so great that the bill was not pressed.

I am told by a correspondent that last year a similar bill was introduced into the California Legislature, that it encountered a similar opposition from the advocates of woman suffrage, and that because of that opposition it was abandoned.

In 1909 a petition signed by over a quarter of a million of women was presented to Parliament against woman suffrage. It was said by Lord Cromer that it was the largest petition in connection with this subject ever presented to Parliament, and that it included representatives of every class of women in England from factory hands to peeresses.

A house-to-house canvass conducted in 1911 in one hundred and two districts in England showed twice as many women opposed to suffrage as in favor of it.

The figures are as follows:

Electorate.	Anti.	Pro.	Neutral.	No reply.
135,351	47,222	21,708	9,358	57,063

A reader of The Outlook writes us that he sent out a thousand letters to a thousand women living in New York State, asking if they would be in favor of having the question whether they wanted to vote put to a vote, and if so, how they would vote. There were 680 answers, of which 410 said that they wouldn't bother to vote on the question if it were presented, and if they did vote, they would vote against it. These women live in small towns, the second tier of cities, and in New York City, and represent all the different classes from the college alumnæ to the working-girls.

I do not believe that ten per cent of the women of the United States wish to assume this new responsibility. That is only a guess. But there is no need to guess. It is easy to know. Ask them. Ask the Legislature to pass a bill like the Massachusetts bill; provide for a special election at which only women shall vote, but to be held in connection with a general election so that voting would be easy and natural. Make it easy for every woman over twenty-one years of age, a resident in the State for one year, and in the district for, say, three months, to go to the polls and by dropping in her ballot to declare her desire for woman suffrage. If a majority of the women desire to assume this new responsibility, they should and would be allowed to do so. If a majority of the women do not desire to assume this new responsibility enough to cast a vote in favor of it, it should not be forced upon them.

Advocates of woman suffrage should approve of such a referendum of the question to the women themselves, for surely the right of women to vote includes the right to vote on the question whether they wish to vote or not. Opponents of woman suffrage should approve of such a referendum, because the injury caused by woman suffrage could not be so great as the injury caused if the majority of the women desired to vote and were denied what they deemed their right by their fathers, brothers, and husbands.

If the majority of women wish the ballot, I desire them to possess it, because I believe the instincts of the women are a safer guide in this matter than the reasoned judgment of the men. But so long as the majority of the women do not desire the ballot, I object to imposing it upon them, for two reasons.

I object to imposing a share in the responsibility of government upon a constituency which is adverse, reluctant, or indifferent, because this is inexpedient.

I object to men's imposing a share in the responsibility of government upon women who are adverse, reluctant, or indifferent, because to do so is unjust to them. For these reasons I join with Mr. Roosevelt

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in calling for a special election at which the women, and only the women, should vote on the question whether or not they wish the vote as a permanent possession, and also a permanent responsibility.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

A CENTURY OF PROGRESS

On February 6, 1812, the first American missionaries to go into any foreign land were ordained in the Tabernacle Congregational Church of Salem, Massachusetts. They were five in number. On February 6, 1912, occurred the one hundredth anniversary of this ordination, celebrated by the ordination of five missionaries in the same church, to the same service. The development of the Foreign Missionary Service during that hundred years is as remarkable and phenomenal in the moral world as is the development of steam and electricity in the material world.

A little more than one hundred years ago there was in America no Foreign Missionary Society, no Home Missionary Society, no City Missionary Society. Now every denomination has its Home and Foreign Missionary Society, and every considerable church its local Missionary Society. The assured income of the American Board, provided at the time of sending out those first five missionaries, was $6,000. The income of the Congregational Foreign Missionary Society (the American Board) alone last year was $1,030,025.

The contrast in the feeling toward the missionary enterprise, both within and without the Church, is equally great. In 1812 the opposition to the enterprise within the Church was intense. When, a few years before, Mr. Cary, a Baptist shoemaker, had proposed as a topic for discussion at a ministerial gathering in Northampton, England, the duty of Christians to attempt the spread of the Gospel among heathen nations, he was greeted by one of his elders with the rebuke, "Young man, sit down. When God pleases to convert the heathen, he will do it without your aid or mine." The opposition without the Church was even more serious. The British authorities in India feared the effect of missionary teaching upon the natives. Sydney Smith argued that it was not possible to allow this missionary work to go on in India "without incurring the utmost risk of losing our Empire." The natives thought that the British Government was going to convert them to Christianity by forcible means, and these fears were sedulously cultivated by some of the pagan priests. When the missionaries arrived in Calcutta, they were forbidden by the British authorities to land, and were ordered peremptorily to return to England. They succeeded, by the connivance of the authorities, in reaching Bombay, where for nearly a year they were detained by the Government. Not until 1813, when the British Parliament intervened, was India opened to missionary activity. To-day the Government authorities in every land recognize in the Christian churches a natural ally, give to the missionaries a moral support and the same protection which is accorded to other foreign residents, and the more open-minded merchants recognize in the missionary a pioneer who, preceding commerce, opens new communities to legitimate trade.

But the changes which have taken place in the missionary spirit are not less remarkable.

In 1827 Dr. Lyman Beecher preached a sermon before the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The title of his sermon, "Resources of the Adversary and Means of Their Destruction," indicated his point of view. The devil and the fallen angels were in war against Jehovah. Among the resources of this enemy to mankind were idolatry, imposture, and Papal superstition. His view of pagan religions is indicated by his graphic portrayal of Mohammedanism as an imposture:

> The next form of opposition to the march of holiness is that of Imposture. This was introduced by Mahomet. It was a system accommodated to the condition of a mingled population composed of pagans, Jews, and nominal Christians, all in a state of great ignorance and deep moral debasement. By complimenting Abraham and Moses he beguiled the Jew; by conceding to the Saviour the rank of a prophet he seduced the degenerate Christian; and by giving ample license to sensuality, in time and eternity, he secured the pagan; and what persuasion failed to accomplish was finished by the sword.

The first missionaries, going in this spirit to conquer paganism as one of the works of the devil, naturally aroused the bitterest hostility in the people to whom they went. This hostility they regarded as an indication of their success. Pelted with stones and dirt by the populace, Cary wrote in his journal, "We were not a little pleased that the devil had begun to bestir himself, inferring from hence that he suspected danger." Nearly a century later, in 1903–4, Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall, the President of the Presbyterian Union Theological Seminary, having

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been sent out for that purpose by the Chicago University, gave a course of lectures in India. He told his Indian audience that the University welcomed teachers from India coming to interpret to America the essential principles of Oriental faith, and in the same spirit sent to India teachers to explain to them the religion of Jesus Christ. He laid down as an axiom the evolution of the races of mankind, an evolution in which "all religions make their contributions, and each perchance may give something that is necessary to the fullness of truth." He repudiated the notion that pagan religions are the products of priestcraft. "We know that priests are not the creators but the products of religion; that religion is older than any form of priesthood; and that the source of religion is not outside of us, but within ourselves." He recognized his hearers as children of God who were seeking after their Father, and he invited them to enter with him upon the study of a religion, to do this in a modern spirit and from the modern point of view. "I do not come," he said, "as a controversialist, eager to assail the beliefs of others and to plant the standard of conquest upon their ruins. Farther than east from west is the ambition of controversy from my heart." And, finally, he emphasized his faith in the possible co-operation of Christianity and Hinduism in the following sentence: "I come to India because I believe that some of your purest and loftiest philosophical presuppositions and some of the purest and loftiest philosophical presuppositions of the West are like two mighty rivers bending toward one another from the eternal hills in which are the springs of both, rivers that may meet, converge, and flow onward in one broad channel toward the sea."

The difference between the sermon of Dr. Lyman Beecher in 1827 and the lectures of Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall in 1903 indicates the radical change which has taken place in Christian thought and feeling during the intervening century. The change is revolutionary; but it has been reached so gradually that its significance has not been recognized, either within or without the Church.

The study of comparative religions has brought with it the conviction that paganism and even idolatry are not devised by priests to ensnare mankind, nor inventions of the Evil One to subjugate mankind, but are stages of spiritual development in a humanity seeking after God. The Church has learned the meaning of the sermon at Athens of Paul, who saw in the multitudinous altars and idols of that pagan city evidence of the religious spirit of the Athenians, and who addressed the pagans as the offspring of God and answered the inscription on one of their altars to the Unknown God by the message, "Whom without knowing ye worship, him declare I unto you."

The great democratic movement, which began with the close of the eighteenth century, has given a new direction to the thought of the Church. It regards religion no longer as an exceptional privilege of the few, but as the essential experience of universal humanity; and the missionary goes forth, not to save an elect few from a lost world, but to save the world itself. The Church has learned the meaning of the prayer which it so long prayed without understanding its meaning, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done *on earth* as it is in heaven."

The substitution of Biblical theology for scholastic theology, and especially the concentration of the thought of the Church on the life and character of Jesus Christ, which characterized the nineteenth century, has made the Church as well as the State more humane. Punishment, whether by the State or by God, is regarded less as an expression of vindictive wrath, human or divine, and more as an expression of love seeking through penalty to save men from their evil courses. The doctrine of eternal punishment, if it has not been abandoned, has been radically changed. No missionary now would tell the pagan questioner, as Cary did in 1800, that he feared the Mussulmans and Hindus would be lost. No wonder that "the man seemed as if he would have torn him to pieces." The Church has come to believe in the doctrine of the Hebrew psalmist, that God's mercy endureth forever, and in the doctrine of Paul, that God will give eternal life to all those who, by patient continuance in well doing, seek for glory and honor and immortality.

With these changes has come another, scarcely less important. Sectarianism is disappearing at home, and has disappeared abroad. It is doubtful whether in 1911 Dr. Judson would have thought it necessary that he should leave the American Board because his studies had led him to believe in adult baptism; certainly the American Board would not have thought he had any reason for so doing. We no longer identify an

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Episcopalian or Congregational order, an adult or infant baptism, a Calvinistic or a Methodist theology, with Christianity. Our churches at home have still much progress to make before they will have overtaken the churches abroad. For the foreign missionary is now desirous to make, not proselytes, but converts; to make the Hindus, not Episcopalians or Baptists or Congregationalists, but Christians; more than willing, glad to leave them to work out their own forms of thought, liturgy, and order. The Church has learned the meaning of Christ's definition of his own mission, which is also theirs: "I have come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly."

Thus the missionary now regards the pagan, not as an enemy of God to be subdued, but as a child of God to be taught. His attitude towards paganism, his preaching to the pagans, and his object in that preaching have all been radically changed.

And this change has resulted in a corresponding change toward the missionary in the thought and heart of the pagan world. Hostility breeds hostility; respect breeds respect. When the missionary went as a warrior to attack the pagan religion, all the religious forces—that is, all the strongest and best forces of pagan humanity—were enlisted against him. Now that he goes to teach, and to learn as well as to teach, now that he goes saying, "We are both seeking after God; tell me what you have learned and I will tell you what I have learned," the mind and heart of the pagan world are open to him. Doubtless he still has ignorance, superstition, and prejudices to overcome. Doubtless he still has to encounter the narrowness of the narrow-minded, and the selfishness of the corrupt and the ambitious; but in most of the pagan world the age for martyrdom has passed. In one of the great provinces of China the New Testament is used as a reading-book in the public schools. In Persia three of the Gospels are sold in great numbers to the Mohammedans, at a price which substantially pays the expense of the printing. The Christian churches are thronged with sympathetic hearers; the Christian colleges with pupils; the hospitals with appreciative patients. And from these centers of influence, and perhaps even more from the Christian homes, a Christian influence, persuasive and dominant, is going out into the pagan communities, and is revolutionizing pagan lives. To one who believes that Christianity is a life, not a form, it matters very little which one of the doctrinal and ecclesiastical forms of the Western world is employed to express that life, or whether some entirely new form, wholly unknown to the Western world, is employed for that purpose.

The kind of Gospel that is being preached and the kind of reception that is being accorded to it in this beginning of the twentieth century are illustrated by the following extract from a letter signed by sixteen Christians of one mission station in Japan and sent to the Christians at the other stations:

"Let us love one another even as the Lord loves you, and engrave the command deeply on the heart, having a more intimate fellowship with you in the Lord than with those friends who are in the world. Let us help to establish an ideal new world which, instead of being filled to overflowing with uncleanness, greediness, discord, strife, jealousy, evil speaking, vainglory, pride, exaggeration, scorn, hypocrisy, and falsehood, is filled full to overflowing with love, joy, peace, tenderness, goodness, faithfulness, sympathy, humility, conscientiousness and a consecrated mind, etc. And we consider that this new world of which we speak shines with glory and happiness and is begun, continued, and firmly established in the present, and does not merely become our experience for the first time in the far-off future."

No doubt there are narrow-minded missionaries abroad whose minds have been impervious to the products of human thought, as there are similar narrow-minded men, both ministers and laymen, at home. But nowhere is there to be found in any profession or in any locality statesmanship more practical, scholarship more thorough, or a spirit more devoutly catholic, than is to be found in the foreign missionary field engaged in foreign missionary service.

He who, in view of these facts, still disbelieves in foreign missions is one hundred years behind the age; he who believes that paganism, or even idolatry, is an invention of the devil and paganism and idolatry are children of the devil is fifty years behind the age; and he who believes that the offer of the life of Christ to the pagan world is resented by the pagan peoples is twenty-five years behind the age. That any one should have believed in the practicability of foreign missions in 1812 is amazing. That any one should doubt the practicability of foreign missions in 1912 is still more amazing.

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GOVERNOR WILSON'S CANDIDACY

A POLL OF THE PRESS

WE are on the eve of a Presidential campaign. The most talked about and apparently the strongest Democratic candidate is Governor Wilson, of New Jersey. Personally quite as much as politically, Woodrow Wilson is a notable figure. His countenance has been described by an exuberant North Carolina editor as "a combination of Lincoln, Savonarola, and George Eliot"! His is also a remarkable manner, not suggesting the heavy politician's any more than his exquisite speech suggests flannel-mouth oratory. The New York "World" (Ind. Dem.) thus describes him:

> He is the greatest living American artist in the use of words. He is a master phrase-maker. He has courage. We hope to be able to support him for the Presidency.

Yet, courageous as he is, the Governor's manner is not of the red-blooded sort. An observer at the State Camp last summer remarked, "Wilson's just learning how to shake hands."

Intellectually, Dr. Wilson is called the best-equipped Democratic leader since Tilden's day. It is the popular confidence in the union of intellect, breadth of progressive opinion, and courage which brings indorsement of his candidacy from such representative organs of public opinion as the Milwaukee "Journal" (Ind.), the Baltimore "News" (Ind.), the Louisville "Post" (Ind.), the Raleigh "News and Observer" (Dem.), the Knoxville "Sentinel" (Dem.), and the Galveston "News" (Dem.).

When President Wilson, of Princeton University, exchanged academic work for the apparently more active life of a campaigner for the Governorship, he made an unexpectedly gallant fight. And when he became State Executive, he found awaiting him a problem such as no other Governor ever had to face. In New Jersey the primaries had declared for Mr. Martine as United States Senator. This was not legally binding on the Legislature, which was ready to choose a machine politician of the old school. But, said the Governor, the primaries were morally binding. In this Dr. Wilson assumed the position that, as Governor, he was his party's leader in New Jersey. With that position nobody quarreled save the bosses, and their opposition—as the New York "Tribune" (Rep.) pointed out—was to Dr. Wilson's advantage with the public. And Wilson won.

As to the work of the new Legislature itself, here again the Governor had to meet the bosses, who would have repealed some of the advanced legislation already enacted. His attitude, as the New York "Evening Post" (Ind.) said, illustrated the advantage of having men "with fresh methods and unaccustomed initiative come to the front in politics." This kind of leadership is, the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.) asserts, "the most interesting feature of recent politics." With the "machine" not only of his own State but of other States against him, the people are for him because, as the Indianapolis "News" (Ind. Dem.) says, there is no other man whose nomination would "make sheer" the issue between the two—the machine and the people.

Mr. Wilson's views have been frequently misstated. For instance, with regard to his views on labor, it has been charged that when he was President of Princeton he said:

> The tendency of the modern labor union is to give employers as little labor for the money they pay as possible.

The editor of the Sioux Falls (South Dakota) "Argus-Leader" (Rep.) wrote to the Governor, asking if he had been correctly quoted. Mr. Wilson's reply was that the statement was, "to all intents and purposes, entirely false."

Mr. Wilson's views are better known concerning the three principles he emphasized when he came into office as Governor—economy, equal taxation, and the control of corporations. As to the last, as a Democrat he would doubtless emphasize, wherever possible, the power of the individual States as opposed to the power of the Federal Nation, using the latter power only as much as might be unavoidable in carrying out his projects, but not emphasizing it. He would vigorously enforce the Anti-Trust Law. "At the bottom of much of the trust question," says he, "lies the tariff." He favors a tariff for revenue only, though he would proceed with due regard for industries dependent on that tariff. So far so good, say the Democrats. But as to another field of finance, certain Independent Democratic organs do not hesitate to criticise adversely. For instance, the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.):

> We wonder if Governor Wilson, of New Jersey, has definite ideas behind the sounding phrases he used last evening. If he has, we

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should like to see them clearly stated; if he has not, we fear that he is encouraging some tendencies in the public mind that are distinctly risky. Here is one passage from the report of his speech:

"The great monopoly in this country is the money monopoly. So long as that exists our old variety and freedom and individual energy of development are out of the question."

We should like much to know precisely what Governor Wilson means by "the money monopoly." If he means monopoly of the various forms of currency, where does it exist, how is it acquired, how is it exerted, and what are the evils attending it? The only serious trouble we have had with monopolizing or locking up of currency has been in times of panic, when every frightened man with a pocketbook or a safe deposit box has engaged in this most disturbing and senseless business.

This, however, may not be Mr. Wilson's notion of the money monopoly, for another Independent Democratic organ, the New York "World" (Ind. Dem.), thus comments:

The charge made by Governor Wilson with consummate phrasing, brevity, and lucidity, but without regard for the facts, is that "the great monopoly in this country is the money monopoly," and that its power is used for personal ends by a few men who "chill and check and destroy genuine economic freedom." How like Mr. Bryan's language of sixteen years ago!

"Every knock at Woodrow Wilson," says a Chicago editor, "has helped him on his way." But, inquires the Toledo "Blade" (Ind. Rep.) "is he going or coming?"

Republican opponents assail Mr. Wilson's sincerity and gratitude, first adducing a letter written in 1907 and described by the New York "Press" (Ind. Rep.) as "approving the reactionary sentiments of an enemy of Federal railroad regulation, and expressing the ardent wish that William J. Bryan might be 'knocked into a cocked hat.'"

As the leading Progressive candidate for the Democratic nomination Mr. Wilson is now a rather sorry joke. Mr. Bryan might be able to forgive him for his impious wish, but the "Commoner" could more consistently support Harmon than one who only four years ago was in hearty sympathy with the Wall Street point of view on Federal regulation and on organized labor as expressed by the receiver of the Metropolitan Street Railway system. To this fatal bit of Wilson writing in the hands of a collector of autographs the Wilson flipflop on the initiative and referendum is insignificant, and the unfortunate Wilson plea for a Carnegie pension only a trifling disability.

Second, there was the break with Colonel Harvey, editor of "Harper's Weekly" (Ind.), and commonly regarded as the original promoter of the Wilson Presidential candidacy. The Governor was probably afraid, to quote the New York "Press" (Ind. Rep.) again, that "Democrats in the Tennessee mountains or Insurgents in the Wisconsin valleys would regard him as a J. P. Morgan candidate because the Wall Street Emperor has a passing interest in the Harper publications." Hence, this may be one reason why Dr. Wilson came to the conclusion recently recorded by "Harper's Weekly:"

The name of Woodrow Wilson as our candidate for President was taken down from the head of these columns in response to a statement made to us directly by Governor Wilson to the effect that our support was affecting his candidacy injuriously.

Regarding the Governor's statement, the general popular feeling was that expressed by the Topeka "Capital" (Rep.): "It was a tactless deal and it cannot but injure Wilson's candidacy." Many agreed with the New York "Sun" in its suggestion that Colonel Harvey now wears a brass serpent's tooth on his watch-chain. "But," retorts the New York "Globe" (Ind. Rep.), "the charge of ingratitude is no stronger than the assumption that it was Harvey that blew greatness into Wilson." Nor will the Governor's ingratitude to Colonel Harvey "be the paramount issue in the Baltimore Convention," says the New York "World" (Ind. Dem.). To which the Milwaukee "Sentinel" (Rep.) replies:

Woodrow Wilson is accused of ingratitude, but we have yet to see the politician who is not guilty of the same fault. In the dark lexicon of politics there is no such word as gratitude.

But, objects the Newark (New Jersey) "Evening News" (Ind.)—

There was evidence of a political trap somewhere in taking the matter up with Wilson directly instead of through his campaign managers, and Wilson avoided it by the straight, courageous course, although his bluntness resulted in hurting Colonel Harvey's feelings.

To which the Denver "Rocky Mountain News" (Ind.) adds:

Nothing is richer in fine portent than the courageous action of Governor Wilson in repudiating the Morgan-Ryan combination that was using Harvey and Watterson to hedge him about.

Now, however, the Buffalo "Enquirer" (Dem.) chronicles the following:

Governor Wilson very profusely apologizes for his bluntness and admits the extreme tactlessness in making a remark that injured his friend, and Colonel Harvey, although finding it necessary to withdraw his support of Governor Wilson's candidacy for the Presidency, says there is no personal rancor attached to the change of editorial tone of his periodical.

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The Syracuse "Post-Standard" (Rep.) says:

Inasmuch as Governor Wilson admits in his letter to George Harvey that he is heartily ashamed of himself, there is really nothing more to be said.

The Waterbury (Connecticut) "American" (Ind. Rep.) sums up the whole affair:

The correspondence shows that his ambition made him forget the courtesy and gratitude due to a man who has done as much for him as Colonel Harvey. But he tried to make amends and succeeded. The revelation is not entirely pleasant, but it does him no dishonor.

The Brooklyn (New York) "Citizen" (Dem.) goes further and says that "Governor Wilson has come out of the controversy with honor."

On the other hand, the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.) asks whether Mr. Wilson, with these infirmities, "does not lack some of the highly essential qualifications always associated with the great office to which he aspires."

If a man blunders and goes wrong in this deplorable way with a dear and intimate friend, a friend for whom he still professes "warm regard," into what depths of perplexity and embarrassment might he not plunge us if he were intrusted with the responsibility of directing the affairs of the Nation?

What are Mr. Wilson's chances of nomination? As to the politicians, Mr. Robert Hudspeth, Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is reported to have stated that 26 of the 52 members of the Committee are for Wilson, while 9 more regard him as their second choice.

As to the people, the well-known writer Mr. Mark Sullivan thus predicted in a recent "Collier's" (Ind.):

If the Democratic party should hold a primary election to-morrow, Woodrow Wilson would get fully two-thirds of the vote and carry about three-fourths of the States. . . . He is really the only one of the Democratic candidates who, outside of his own State, in the country at large, has a personal following—the sort of following that would go with its candidate into a third party if the occasion arose.

A man like Woodrow Wilson appeals to voters irrespective of party, and we may remember that the independent vote is continually growing both in quantity and quality.

THE STRIKERS AT LAWRENCE

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUTLOOK

THE striking textile workers of Lawrence, taken as a whole, are peaceful, earnest, devoted men and women. They want decent conditions of living. They want justice. They do not want violence, intimidation, bloodshed.

There are almost as many nationalities here in Lawrence as there are in your Babel of New York. The workers are American, English, Scotch, Irish, German, French, Flemish, French-Canadian, Polish, Italian, Syrian, Russian, Armenian. I heard speeches in six languages. I was told that a score of tongues were spoken, and that the dialects numbered fifty-five. The mill-hands are of all religious beliefs—Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. The workers are of different grades in the hierarchy of poverty. There is the weaver who makes ten to twelve dollars or more a week when the mills are busy, and there is the unskilled laborer who seeks to support a family on seven dollars a week. You might not suppose that a common sentiment could animate these diverse groups and weld them into a fighting unit.

Nevertheless, they have struck—struck as a single homogeneous body. The strike came suddenly. The Legislature had passed a law reducing the hours of labor from fifty-six to fifty-four, and the mill-owners, without warning to their employees, reduced wages in a like proportion. It was a ruthless, immoral, ill-advised proceeding.

It was ruthless because wages already were indecently low. They are not all low, and they are not lower in Lawrence than in other textile centers, but they are far lower, here as elsewhere, than the cost of living and the demands of our American civilization imperatively require. It was immoral because the work for which these wages were paid had already been done, and because the method of reduction was that of a despotic master deciding, according to his sole will, the fate of his subjects. It was ill-advised because it revealed to an already irritated American public the other side of Schedule K. It showed that the woolen manufacturers of Lawrence and elsewhere were obtaining a high protective tariff under the false pretense of benefiting American labor. I have rarely seen in any American city so many shivering men without overcoats as I have seen

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in the cloth-producing town of Lawrence, Massachusetts.

The impression of Lawrence which I gained during my first evening was that of a besieged city. The militia, armed with guns and bayonets, guarded the streets and bridges in the mill district and challenged all comers. The hulking factories, with their iron gates and massive doors, appeared in the semi-darkness like fortresses, and along the face of these mills there played a strange, trembling light from the search lanterns opposite. There were soldiers inside the mills ready to pour out volleys of lead into any storming party. I was told—though I do not know whether truly—that these defenses were supplemented by live wires to electrocute invaders. The factories were trebly defended, and yet I saw no offense. One striker, a vivacious Frenchman, spoke picturesquely of this "line of death," but the thousands of other mill-hands seemed no more likely to attack the factories than to sack the churches. They were gathered together in smoke-filled halls, where peaceful, enthusiastic speeches were made in German, French, Flemish, and Syrian. They were peacefully walking the streets. They were quietly conversing at home. They were gathered by the hundreds in the moving-picture theaters, where they thrilled over the misfortunes of a photo-play heroine and delighted to see virtue rewarded and vice punished. The strikers of Lawrence, taking them as a whole, seemed to me no more bloodthirsty than the ordinary people whom we see every day in the street.

The militia confirmed this impression of the general peacefulness of the population. These soldiers—tin soldiers, the strikers call them—were for the most part mannerly, pleasant-faced boys. They were the sort of boys that you see at a baseball match, and they had joined the militia for the reason that boys go to baseball matches and strikers go to moving-picture shows. The militia boys were always stamping their feet, not from rage but because their feet were cold, and they yawned behind their bayonets because they did not sleep well in their uncomfortable quarters in the mills. The militiamen seemed half relieved, half disappointed that their work was so dull, but none complained to me of ferocity on the part of the strikers. There were rowdies in the city, it is true, as there are in all cities, and in times of industrial disruption, as in times of fire or famine, the unruly elements come to the fore. Many of the militia boys with whom I talked were in sympathy with the strikers, though opposed to "foreigners," but the most eclectic judgment of all was that of a white-faced soldier lad from Lowell. "Damn the strike!" said he, in much the tone in which Mercutio said, "A plague on both your houses." "I only had three hours' sleep last night, and I want to get home."

The leaders, Haywood and Ettor, are far more radical and revolutionary than are the rank and file of the strikers. Haywood, who is a big man physically and emotionally, contains within him all the explosive elements of a thoroughgoing idealist. He is one of the founders of the organization which to-day is in control of this strike, the Industrial Workers of the World. He is also a leading member of the Socialist party, but in his fundamental philosophy he is far removed from the hope of that gradual conquest of the State which the political Socialist desires, and he seems to me to approach more nearly the ideal of the revolutionary syndicalists of France and Italy. Haywood has little faith in the State and in political and legal machinery, and he aspires to revolutionize society on industrial lines. To do this he must build up unions, not by trades, but by industries. Haywood does not want unions of weavers, unions of spinners, unions of loom-fixers, unions of wool-sorters, but he wants one comprehensive union of all textile workers, which in time will take over the textile factories, as the steel workers will take over the steel mills and the railway workers the railways. Haywood interprets the class conflict literally as a war which is always on, which becomes daily more bitter and uncompromising, which can end only with the conquest of a capitalistic society by proletarians or wage-workers, organized industry by industry.

Because he is essentially a syndicalist, Haywood has even less sympathy with the ordinary trade-union leader than with the ordinary political Socialist. Between the American Federation of Labor and the Industrial Workers of the World there is an antagonism more irreconcilable than that between mill-owners and textile workers. Haywood places no trust in trade agreements, which, according to his theory, lead merely to social peace and "put the workers to sleep." Let the employer lock out his men when he pleases, and let the workmen strike when *they* please. He is opposed to arbitration, conciliation, compromise; to

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sliding scales, profit-sharing, welfare work; to everything, in short, which may weaken the revolutionary force of the workers. He does not ask for the closed shop or the official recognition of the union, for he has no intention of recognizing the employer. What he desires is not a treaty of industrial peace between the two high contracting parties, but merely the creation of a proletarian impulse which will eventually revolutionize society. Haywood is a man who believes in men, not as you and I believe in them, but fervently, uncompromisingly, with an obstinate faith in the universal good will and constancy of the workers, worthy of a great religious leader. That is what makes him supremely dangerous. There is no dynamite in the world so utterly destructive as the blind faith which seeks to remove mountains.

I have rarely seen anything more sensational and dramatic than a certain quiet intellectual collision which I witnessed in the Mayor's office at Lawrence between Haywood and a few strikers and an investigating committee of the State Legislature. It was a war of philosophies *à outrance*, compared to which a bloody affray between militia and strikers would have seemed puerile and insignificant. The committee, composed of men of exceptional intellectual attainments, were thrown upon the defensive. "What can your State do?" asked the strikers, almost in so many words. "If you find one party wrong, can your State force it to do right? Can you legislators be impartial as arbitrators, when you have not lived the bitter life of the workers? Would you arbitrate a question of life and death, and are the worst wages paid in these mills anything short of death? Do you investigate because conditions are bad, or because the workers broke loose and struck? Why did you not come *before the strike?* Can you weave cloth with the bayonets of your militia, or spin with the clubs of your policemen? What can your State of Massachusetts do to make wrong right for the workingmen who form the bulk of your citizens?"

I myself am no syndicalist, and I do not believe that society can be changed as Haywood wishes to change it, or could remain "put" if once organized on such a basis. His is a Utopia of too generous a faith. It seemed to me that the legislators, though smitten by a logic which they could not understand, were upheld by a vague consciousness that society does not evolve that way. These legislators saw the strike as a strike, as a thing to be fought out or settled to-day or to-morrow—and, in a sense, they were right in so thinking. To Haywood, Ettor, and a few of the other leaders the strike was but a symptom of proletarian revolt and proletarian solidarity. It was a first step in a march which would carry a working-class army into the very citadel of capitalism. "You may turn your fire-hose upon the strikers," declared Ettor, referring to an early incident in the strike, "but there is being kindled in the heart of the workers a flame of proletarian revolt which no fire-hose in the world can ever extinguish."

So much for the spirit of the leaders. In one sense they are true leaders, infusing their followers with solidarity and self-sacrifice. In another sense they are false leaders, because out of harmony with the spirit of the mass. The Lawrence strikers, though they applaud Haywood and Ettor, do not, I believe, understand their philosophy, and would not follow it if they did. To my mind, though I may be mistaken, the workers' real attitude is that of the ordinary trade-unionist, peaceful, determined, self-sacrificing, compromising, more intent on wages, hours, and conditions than on any overthrow of capitalism, ultimate or immediate.

On my way to a meeting of the Franco-Belgian strikers I met a girl from Roubaix named Céleste. She was a good weaver, earning eleven dollars a week. When her part of the strike began, by a violent irruption into the weaving-room of the unskilled Italian workers, Céleste's partner looked up from her work and asked, "Are you goin' to strike, Céleste?" "Sure," answered the Roubaix girl, quickly. "I ain't goin' to be a scab. I ain't goin' to lose my reputation." Céleste's partner looked more dubious. "*Bien*," she replied. "I also. But I'm goin' to be the last to leave." And she was the last to leave.

Neither Céleste nor her partner cares about the proletarian will to revolt, but Céleste wants to keep her reputation, and both want a fifteen per cent increase in wages. I found exactly the same temperate objective attitude on the part of the audience at this meeting of French and Belgian strikers. It was a virile group of men who were circled two and three deep around the seated group of women. It seemed to me that I had seen these sensitive, earnest faces before —at the Maison du Peuple at Brussels, at the

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Vooruit at Ghent, at the Bourse de Travail at Paris. The men who addressed us from the crude, littered stage also seemed familiar. The short-headed Frenchman with the closely cropped hair personified for me the generous, though often cautious, impulses of the Gallic workman, while the blue-eyed, yellow-mustached Fleming, with his broad, low forehead and his blunt fingers, epitomized that tenacious, century-old capacity of the weavers of the Low Countries, which for a time made Flanders the industrial and artistic capital of the world. The tired, quiet-looking woman of fifty at my side, the girl with the flowering white hat and the encircling black boa in front of me, the laughing French wool-sorter behind me who was jocularly squeezing a little boy's cap upon his own shock of hair, were earnest strikers all of them, but they were not violent, and were not—at least not now—concerned with the evolution of a new industrial world out of the shell of the present-day system.

The speeches, both Flemish and French, were singularly pacific. The chairman translated from an English paper and explained the great increase in the profits of the American Woolen Company and the law with regard to picketing. "*Toute intimidation est poursuivie*" [Every means of intimidation has been used], was his laconic interpretation, and it seemed to me that the robed Justices of the Federal Supreme Court could not have put it better. A proposal to send a delegate to a Socialist meeting was warmly debated and overwhelmingly defeated.

"This strike," said the chairman, in speaking against the proposal, "rests upon an economic basis, and we must not mix up with political parties. We have enough differences as it is. We have among us Catholics, Protestants, freethinkers; Republicans, Democrats, Socialists, opportunists. We have to-day the sympathy of all the people, Protestant preachers, Catholic priests, *commerçants*, and workmen. Go to the Socialist meeting as individuals, if you will, but do not send a delegate. If you do, you will have half the population of Lawrence *sur le dos*."

Almost everywhere, it seemed to me, I meet this same objective attitude, this same aversion from violence and the threat of violence. At the German meeting, where middle-aged Saxon weavers, pipe in mouth, debated the philosophic bases of society (as Germans have debated them since the days of Tacitus), the photographs of Marx and Lassalle listened from the wall to a very peaceful and Platonic, though earnest, discussion. These Germans were the stuff of which great nations are made, but the revolution which they saw in their thick clouds of tobacco smoke was quiet, well-behaved, a trifle academic, a trifle *grossmütterlich*. So, too, at the Syrian meeting, held in the Catholic church, though I caught but two words, "boss" and "union," I did not feel any reverberation of those thundering, portentous ideals which animate the leaders of this strike.

Let me be entirely frank with the reader. I went to Lawrence prejudiced in favor of the strikers. But I come from it more than ever imbued with the greatness of the justice of their cause. It seems to me regrettable that the ardent enthusiasm which Haywood and Ettor have given to these strikers could not have been given to them by leaders more objective, and less filled with that blind, categorical idealism which, far more than its opposite, is likely to betray men to violence. It would be better if the leaders were temperamentally capable of combining adhesion to principle with a conciliatory attitude towards opponents. And yet this leadership itself, so pregnant with danger, is but the reverse of the chaotic labor conditions which we have allowed to grow up not only in Lawrence, but in very, very many of our industrial centers. Back of these leaders are the splendid, earnest, peace-loving men and women of the mills, men and women of all nationalities and beliefs, men and women with thwarted hopes and crippled aspirations, men and women who have been trodden down by us, the cowardly good citizens of America, through our optimistic materialism which is as ruthless and as blind as is the measureless, undisciplined idealism of the syndicalists. If out of this caldron of disillusion there should come a quick, hot flame of violence, it must be promptly extinguished. We may not allow men, whatever their intentions, to throw matches into explosives. *Neither may we allow men, however wealthy or respectable, to scatter explosives upon the ground.*

To-day, to-morrow, and year after year in America, the question raised at the conference between legislators and strikers will rise up against us. "What can the State do? What can we do to make the wrong right for the people of our mills and our factories?"

Lawrence, Massachusetts. WALTER E. WEYL.

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JOHNSON OF CALIFORNIA

BY WILLIAM KENT

MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE SECOND CALIFORNIA DISTRICT

For that the leaders took the lead in Israel, bless ye the Lord.

THERE has been a political revolution in California, a complete overturning, that has not only driven from power the former masters of the State, but has fundamentally changed the structure of State government.

A great majority of the people of California, a thoughtful, resourceful, educated people, believe that the changes were necessary. It is the common belief that in a reversion from a so-called system of representative government to one more directly popular we have adopted the only means to rest the control of government in the consent of the governed.

The strong man who led in bringing about the changes has, by reason of his overwhelming success, challenged the attention of the Nation. Judged by the accomplishment of a few short months, he ranks as one of the most efficient executives in the history of our country.

The State had long been owned, operated, and looted by the Southern Pacific Railroad. A complicated system of representative government, so called, permitted control of nominations of all elective officers by the use of money and the concentration of influence previously acquired. Executive, legislative, and judicial positions were filled by tools of the great corporation or by men regarded as "safe." To the "checks and balances" of the corporation were added the checks and balances of a system so involved that the people could not select their nominees or manage them when elected. Nor could they secure the laws they wanted. Of course the railways did not elect all of the officials. There was always a fighting minority who obtained position either in spite of railway opposition or who were elected and afterward found to be "unsafe." They usually met with a "railroad recall" when next they ran for office.

William F. Herrin, in later years counsel for the Southern Pacific, passed upon candidates for office and upon matters of legislation. The brazen impudence of the situation was intolerable. The San Francisco graft cases furnished the last touch of insult and infamy. Along the trail of the defense of the bribing, boodling public utility corporations of San Francisco stalked the thugs, the corrupting attorneys, the jury-bribing squad, of the Southern Pacific, for they were linked in mutual interest in the banking purlieus of Wall Street. The lion protected the jackals, for there was meat for all.

As a culmination of piffling court decisions, perjury, jury-bribing, dynamiting, and kidnapping, aimed to clear the guilty, Frank Heney was shot in the court-room, and Hiram Johnson took his place and landed Ruef, tool of the Southern Pacific Railroad and the affiliated villainies, for a term of fourteen years in the penitentiary.

As a result of the State-wide prominence thus gained, Johnson was selected by the Progressive element of the Republican party to lead a forlorn hope for the redemption of California. He could ill afford the commission, for it meant great loss to a growing law practice, and an apparently unjustifiable expenditure of time and money. The appeal to his patriotism carried the day, and he did not "resist the draft."

The committee that selected him knew him as a citizen of character, as possessing great personal charm, as a remarkably effective public speaker, endowed with the sort of steel-wire constitution that California can furnish its sons. No one worried much as to his success as a Governor. A candidate was wanted, a man who could fight, and then, if elected, would be sure to be on the public side, brave and unpurchasable.

In a primary contest of five months, covering a State over eight hundred miles long and more than two hundred and fifty wide, he gave proof of vigor of mind and body that was extraordinary. He emerged the Republican nominee, and then came the campaign for election, lasting nearly three months. The whole power of the old gang was thrown to his Democratic opponent. He was fought by every means known to the desperadoes of politics; election day found him successful. The forlorn hope had scaled the redoubt.

Throughout the campaign he had stuck to

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one issue, the need of "kicking the Southern Pacific Railroad out of State politics." The cloistered student of civics would have deplored the lack of constructive suggestion in his speeches, but Johnson was making a fight for one definite thing, without which no other thing could be accomplished.

One of his opponents at the primaries, a popular man who was said to possess "the finest bar-room manners in California," made a brief speech—practically his only speech—in which he said, "The Southern Pacific does not own me, but, if elected Governor, I shall not tear up rails with my teeth." The parody was apt in a shallow sense, but the people wanted the "rails torn up by the Governor's teeth" if there were no way of keeping them to their legitimate uses.

Much happened in the brief period between the election and the inauguration. The Progressive Republicans had captured the political machinery of the State, and set about to ascertain how it could be operated for the public welfare. The personnel of the Legislature had been greatly changed for the better, and the new men of uncertain tendencies felt the drift.

Committees were appointed of dependable members of the Legislature and citizens who possessed technical knowledge and a public sense, to draft legislation. The Governor-elect had an interval in which to study the situation to determine policies and to scheme not only how to kick the Southern Pacific out of the Government of California, but "how to make it stay kicked."

When the Lincoln-Roosevelt League chose Johnson of San Francisco as the candidate for Governor, the southern part of the State selected Wallace for Lieutenant-Governor. No better selection could have been made. A man of calm judgment, the right inspiration, and inflexible purpose, he would have, as presiding officer of the State Senate, the power of appointing the committees of that body.

Johnson had hardly been elected before he was besieged by politicians, by "business men," and by friends to retain in office many of those who had participated in the old order of things. He had but one reply to make, "They must go," and they went.

Certain officials had resigned and had secured reappointment for a four-year term before Governor Gillette left the office to his successor. They were asked to resign some more, and, as they refused, Johnson asked the Legislature to abolish their jobs; and they, too, went.

There was nothing perfunctory or half-hearted about the performance—the Southern Pacific was kicked out of the State Government.

Will it stay kicked? We shall see.

When the Legislature met, there was great question as to the programme it should adopt. There were able representatives of the old machine, skilled in dilatory tactics and the intricacies of parliamentary law. These could be counted on to block all constructive work by endless sophistry and to find pigeonholes for every meritorious measure.

There had been a preliminary meeting held to which the Progressive Senators had been invited. The Governor and Lieutenant-Governor met with them, and together they outlined a course of procedure. Then the Legislature assembled, and at its beginning Governor Johnson delivered his inaugural address. This was a clear-cut outline of his views of the needs of the State. It was a statement representing real leadership. The dominant note that ran through it was a desire to make the Government of California responsive and responsible to the people.

The first bold sentences called for the elimination of every private interest from the Government—not only that the "Southern Pacific should be kicked out of politics," but that every other private interest should cease to be represented in popular government:

> In some form or other nearly every governmental problem that involves the health, the happiness, or the prosperity of the State has arisen because some private interest has intervened or has sought for its own gain to exploit either the resources or the politics of the State. I take it, therefore, that the first duty that is mine to perform is to eliminate every private interest from the Government, and to make the public service of the State responsive solely to the people.

In calling for efficient control of the railway companies and other public utilities, he said:

> I beg of you not to permit the bogie man of the railroad companies, "Unconstitutionality," to deter you from enacting the legislation suggested, if you believe that legislation to be necessary; and I trust that none of us will be terrified by the threat of resort to the courts that follows the instant a railroad extortion is resented or attempted to be remedied. Let us do our full duty, now that at last we have a Railroad Commission that will do its full duty, and let us give this Commission all the power and aid and resources it requires; and if thereafter legitimate work done within the law and

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the Constitution shall be nullified, let the consequences rest with the nullifying power.

To many orthodox legal brethren those last sentences may seem sinister. But California has been too long a sufferer from railway opinions rendered by railway judges to be in tolerant mood toward more decisions of the same sort.

The Governor advocated as direct and as non-partisan a primary law as could be conceived. He further came out boldly for the so-called Oregon plan of directly selecting United States Senators, the Constitution of the United States to the contrary notwithstanding:

> Of course the Constitution of the United States requires that United States Senators shall be elected by State Legislatures. Notwithstanding the popular demand expressed now for a quarter of a century that United States Senators should be elected by direct vote of the people, we have been unable to amend the Federal Constitution; but the people in more than half the States are striving to effect the same result by indirection. . . .
>
> I suggest to you, therefore, that the present law be amended so that there be a State-wide advisory vote upon United States Senator; and the logical result of a desire to elect United States Senators by direct vote of the people is that that election shall be of any person who may be a candidate, no matter what party he may be affiliated with.

The next recommendation was to shorten the ballot, to fill more offices by appointment and fewer by election, for he perceived that, although the people may be reasonably supposed to have opinions concerning a few chief officials, and also concerning important legislative measures, they cannot be expected to write a volume entitled "Who's Who in California" on their ballots at every election.

The Governor called for the restoration of the Australian ballot, free from either the party circle or the party column. He called for a non-partisan selection of the judiciary, not only at the election, but also at the primaries.

Another call was to grant to counties the right of home rule under a charter, to the end that counties, if they chose, might rule themselves as do the cities, thereby relieving the Legislature of vexatious questions in matters where uniform laws could not possibly fit the differing physical conditions of a State of such variety of produce and climate.

He recommended legislation that would result in classifying the remaining common resources of the State, especially the water power, to the end of securing adequate control of future grants and reversion if claims already made were not properly held.

He called for prison reform, especially for a reformatory for first offenders.

With these constructive suggestions all good citizens must agree. The requests that show the course of democratic progress away from the burdensome complexities that infest our representative system, toward rule by the people, lay in his formulation of the request long made by the people of the State for initiative, referendum, and the recall. It is obvious to any one who believes in the shortened ballot and in an efficient and responsible system of government that, lacking control by the people subsequent to election, such a system of government may be nothing less than an elective despotism. The spectacle is all too common of officials sure of a fixed term who brazenly defy the people who elected them, in the knowledge that their tenure of office is secure and that their acts are not subject to popular revision. For this reason, driven by the cold logic of facts, Governor Johnson advocated the referendum and the recall, and suggested that the right of recall embrace all elective officials, including the judges. After all, the referendum and the recall are but obvious and necessary checks in a representative system. The initiative seems in some of its aspects a much more radical departure, permitting, as it does, the people to formulate and to pass their own laws should the Legislature refuse to comply with their expressed desires.

Governor Johnson's concluding paragraph was a complete repudiation of irrelevant partisanship. To quote:

> The hope of governmental accomplishment for progress and purity politically is with us in this new era. This hope and wish for accomplishment for the supremacy of the right and its maintenance I believe to be with every member of the Legislature. It is in no partisan spirit that I appeal to you for aid. Democrats and Republicans alike are citizens, and equal patriotism is in each. Your aid, your comfort, your highest resolve and endeavor, I bespeak, not as Republicans or Democrats, but as representatives of all the people of all classes and political affiliations, as patriots indeed for the advancement and progress and righteousness and uplift of California.
>
> And may God in his mercy grant us the strength and the courage to do the right!

This address cleared the air and caused an immediate union of right-minded and progressive men of both parties. Lieutenant-Governor Wallace, as before stated, had the power to select the Senate Committees. The organization of the House was effected by the better element after a few preliminary

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skirmishes in which the old machine forces were routed. The pigeonholes were effectually plugged, and the Legislature settled down to do the business of the State, for which it was elected and to which, by the platform of both parties, it was pledged.

Johnson promptly squelched a proposed act making the Governor eligible for the Senatorship during his term of office. The committees of legislators and citizens appointed before the session reported to the regular committees their recommendations. All men and all measures received a respectful hearing.

I have seen many legislative bodies, but none more impressive by reason of its sense of responsibility, its eagerness to do right and justice, its willingness to work to the limit of human endurance. With infinite tact the Governor propounded his constructive suggestions. He made no threats and promised no patronage, but to members collectively and to individuals he pointed out the needs of the State and the logic of the situation. Each Senator and Assemblyman was made to realize that he was an important factor in the new era and would receive full credit for his share in the work. From that time on the essential features of the programme were certain of being carried out.

In the selection of a United States Senator, the Democrats not having suggested names at the State-wide primary and the Republicans being in majority, the Progressives of both parties united in the selection of Judge Works, who, campaigning with Johnson and standing on the same platform, had received the largest popular vote.

At the close of the session the Legislature and the Governor could claim with pride that every pledge had been carried out.

It would show a gross sense of disproportion if the credit for this work were attributed to the Governor alone. He came into a heritage of clear-cut, bold, democratic, and non-partisan ideals. Many States have wrestled with the problems of proper control and management of State institutions. The ideals of civil service reform came as a matter of course with the elimination of partisanship. The great qualities of leadership were shown in his ability to merge these policies into a coherent scheme and then by clear thinking and plain expression to give to others an appreciation of what it all meant; and, most important of all, he showed a peculiar capacity to infuse his own moral enthusiasm into the task and to make others realize that they bore an equally responsible part in working for the common welfare.

As an executive the Governor had remorselessly carried out his programme of "kicking the Southern Pacific and other private interests out of the Government of the State." He rallied to his support our best citizenship, and found little difficulty in substituting, in the numerous commissions that formerly had butchered the public service, citizens with high ideals. These appointees were not confined to members of the Republican party. A roster of names of those taking these great responsibilities includes a large proportion of the men most distinguished by reason of public spirit and public service.

Among the bills passed by the Legislature were those to provide effective regulation of public utilities; the Oregon plan for electing United States Senators; the amendment to the direct primary law; the Australian ballot; the short ballot; a judiciary selected at the primaries as non-partisan and elected as non-partisan; home rule for counties; Conservation legislation; prison reform, beginning with a reformatory for first offenders, and providing, in the face of opposition at first made by union labor but subsequently abandoned, for the manufacture in the prisons of any articles used by the public institutions of the State; amendments and improvements to the Employers' Liability Act; and an eight-hour law for women.

The Legislature further propounded amendments to the State Constitution embodying initiative, referendum, and recall, the strengthening of the powers of the railway commission, and woman's suffrage.

Soon after the close of the legislative session began the campaign for the Constitutional amendments. The Governor confined his speaking to the indorsement of the initiative, referendum, and recall, and to the railway commission amendment, feeling that these measures were essential to the programme, without which the work previously accomplished would but create an elective despotism. He refrained from taking part in the struggle for woman's suffrage, although firmly believing in it as a part of democratic progress.

Heney joined in, as another leader, in this campaign, and every part of the State heard from one or both of these remarkable men. Of course the hottest fight centered on the recall of the judiciary, which was fought by

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the legal quibble that somehow or in some way the courts were beyond and above the people, and that the people should be compelled to obey the interpretation of their own laws, however those laws might be construed, by judges responsible to no one.

The arguments of the advocates of these amendments must have had weight when judged by the result of the election. In a vote fairly representative of the electorate the recall provision polled 178,115, the opposition 53,755—a majority of over 124,000, and, incidentally, 8,000 greater than the majority given to the initiative. It was generally conceded and shown by straw votes that the recall of the judges was the most popular phase of the amendment.

After the referendum election there was no respite in the executive office. It was necessary to call a special session to pass supplementary legislation connected with some previous legislation and with the Constitutional amendments. The question came up as to whether in this call there should be a request for a Presidential primary. Under the defective primary law which the old machine inadvertently passed, it was provided that the county committeemen elected in 1910 should select delegates to the Presidential conventions, with the obvious intention of perpetuating machine control and having the delegates selected so long before the event that they could be used for trading purposes. It was never contemplated that the political power might be seized by the Progressives, but this was the event.

Those Progressives who favored Senator La Follette found themselves able to appoint the delegation to the National Convention, and had it not been for the extra session, the delegation would have been chosen accordingly. It was optional with the Governor whether the new Republican organization should take advantage of the situation or whether he by voluntary act should endeavor to return to the people a power that ought to rest with them. The Governor had no doubt in his own mind about the course that should be pursued or the course he was going to pursue. With his mind already made up, he consulted with Senator La Follette and with others in the Progressive movement, and, strengthened in his own opinion, he inserted in the call a request for a Presidential primary, thereby clearly showing the difference between real leadership in the popular interest and boss rule and machine control. If the Republicans of California desire the renomination of President Taft, they can say so, by grace of a Governor who believes in popular government.

This suggestion is certain to be enacted into law, with the strongest recommendation and indorsement by Senator La Follette.

Other calls for the special session include an appeal to provide for the inspection, measurement, and gradation of merchandise and wares by State officers; for the amendment of the Constitution whereby free text-books shall be furnished by the State for school children.

In personal characteristics Governor Johnson is well fitted for his task. He has remarkable charm of manner in public speech; in private conversation he is pleasant rather than urbane. He is simple, direct, and frank in expressing his views of men and measures. His most remarkable characteristic rests in the power and clearness of his mental processes. He seems capable of almost instantaneous logical conclusions, and is fearless in giving an immediate opinion, an attribute supremely requisite in a man of executive position. Despite his legal training and attainments, he has much more the attitude of an Arab sheik rendering justice offhand from under a palm tree than of a conventional "civilized" judge scraping dust and cobwebs from musty precedent before expressing an opinion. He despises formality, and refused an inaugural ball and an entourage of bespangled colonels. Prior to his inauguration a colonel on the staff of the former Governor clicked his heels before him in a hotel lobby and asked for his command. His reply was, "I think you had better report to Colonel Forbes," who happened to be the head of the State militia.

By reason of having an abiding belief in government by the people, fortified by a confidence in the essential soundness of popular decision, despising and ridiculing the fearsome bogie, the "clamor of the mob," he makes few mistakes either in men or in measures. If we can find one word that better describes him than any other one word, I should say it would be to call him "adequate." As a candidate he seized upon the salient issue, that of kicking the Southern Pacific out of the politics of the State. Successful in that contest, the next problem that confronted him was to keep the Southern Pacific and the affiliated interests kicked out of the Government of the State. The only thing to do and the right thing to

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do was to empower those interested, the people, to do that work. He keenly realized that the complicated system of representation, with its machinery and its checks and balances, removed the voter so far from his candidate and so far from his legislation and so far from the judicial determination of what that legislation meant, that power must revert to the voter or he would be lost in the tangle and robbed at leisure by those who dispensed the "checks and balances" of greedy capital and special privilege.

He had no technical knowledge of the State institutions. He made no pleas for civil service reform in the days of his campaigning. He trusted in his ability to meet situations as they rose with calm self-possession and confidence. From the day of his inauguration to the present time he has been indefatigable in working along the conventional line of honest and efficient government, and has supplemented this in pushing through the measures whereby the people can defend themselves against aggression. There is no better example of the difference between boss rule and real leadership. It would seem that for executive purposes his is a better type of mind than that of the philosopher who indulges in speculation and generalities. Hiram Johnson is not a prophet because he has not taken up the prophet business, but he is an executive official who embodies the dictum:

"For the thing-to-be-done does not tarry the will of the Doer,
But the Doer must be at the beck of the thing-to-be-done."

And the thing-to-be-done with Johnson is not shrouded in mist or doubt.

At a meeting of the Bar Association held at Sacramento in November the eminent gentlemen there present spent much of their time bewailing what they termed California's "overturning of the Constitution." California regularly overturns its State Constitution at every election wherein amendments are considered, for such amendments, having been recommended by the Legislature, are passed by a majority vote. Somehow the Federal Constitution, however it may have been interpreted or misinterpreted, understood or misunderstood, by the Supreme Court, is considered something too sacred to criticise.

After a session in which the recall of judges was duly deplored, Johnson was called upon to speak. The extemporaneous remarks he made were brilliant in satire and couched in a style strongly reminding one of Demosthenes. His introductory remarks were:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Bar: I come to you this morning as one of the submerged four-fifths of the State of California, one of those, you know, with whom you have been sympathizing the last few days and concerning whom, as I observe from public prints, and that alone, you have expressed during the last few days in your deliberations so much concern and so much regard. I observe that in your deliberations as a bar association in the past few days you have expressed yourselves, of course, with that freedom that always should punctuate the remarks of members of the bar. And I observe, with that peculiar facility and fecundity of expression that belongs to members of the bar, you have, in respect to matters that are alive and have not been passed upon in the State of California, been continuing your debates. I am thankful to you, as a member of the submerged four-fifths of this State, that you, the remaining fifth, who, of course, can direct the other four-fifths better than they can direct themselves, should have expressed your sympathy for what we have done in the State and for those things that we have endeavored to carry on, and that you should have devoted your gigantic efforts as a bar association and as members of a great profession to pointing out the evil that this poor, submerged four-fifths people of the State of California have done in the State of California, and have bewailed and bemoaned that which may have been done by them in the past and what may be done in the future, and that you have told us the error of our ways. And we are obliged to you for it. But may I suggest to you, my brethren of the bar, that you dry your tears and iron out your lugubrious countenances, that you take your wigs and that you take the bones of your old traditions and put them in your legal bags, and that you turn around and face forward as you ought to do in the State of California, and go forward upon the broad political highway of freedom in the State of California?

This was followed by an appeal to the members of his profession to use their influence and offer their advice in the great constructive programme lying before the State. His logic was so unerring, his appeal so direct and persuasive, that the Bar Association at the close of his talk passed the following resolutions:

Resolved: First, that the California Bar Association pledges itself and all its instrumentalities, to the best of our ability, to serve the Governor of the State of California and the administration of the State in all of the matters in which the Governor of this State has at this time asked our service;

Second, that the address of the Governor of this State be printed and a copy of it furnished at the earliest available opportunity to each section and to each committee of this body which is or may be charged with any duty in respect of the first subdivision of this resolution.

Third, that the incoming President of this

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association be, and he is hereby, given full power to aid in such work by the appointment of such further committees or instrumentalities as to him may seem suitable in the premises.

California is far from the center of population. Judging by the Census, it is not a big State. The problems that confront Governor Johnson are perhaps simpler, or at least expressed in simpler terms, than those that confront some of the older States, but in the history of the Legislature of 1911 and in the inaugural message and some of the other speeches of the Governor can be found, in my judgment, the clearest exposition of State needs and the treatment of those needs that is to be found in all our political literature.

There were developed in this country several forms of government—municipal, State, and National. The cities first took up the fight against privilege, and more and more are emerging into the light of responsive, responsible, centralized, and efficient government, with popular rather than constitutional checks.

Under the Roosevelt Administration the Federal Government grew more representative of the welfare of the average man, and there was a strong movement toward strengthening Federal authority at the expense of the States. But the Federal Government is too overburdened with National problems to do justice to the detailed needs of the States. Just as in California the State wishes to furnish to the counties all possible powers of local self-government and insists that the counties shall be responsible and not neglected, so the people of the several States may not lean back on the Federal Government in asking for regulation of matters near at hand and of vital interest to the individual State, but must see to it that the State governments are conducted for the welfare of their present and future citizens.

With the elimination of the selection of the United States Senators from the State Legislatures there will pass the last vestige of excuse for National partisanship in the State's business. There will come a new alignment in the choice between progress and reaction, between conservation and exploitation, between the welfare of the many and the privilege of the few.

We of California, for the first time in many years, are proud of our humanly organized State. We hope that the country will pardon a shifting of our boastfulness from the biggest trees and the biggest pumpkins to our claim that we have the best of the State governments.

THE ROAD—AN IRISH GYPSY SONG

BY RUTH SAWYER

It leads away, at the ring o' day,
  On to the beckoning hills;
And the throstles sing by the holy spring
  That the Blessed Virgin fills.

White is the road and light is the load,
  For the burden we bear together.
Our feet beat time on the upward climb
  That ends in the purpling heather.

There is spring in the air, and everywhere
  The throb of a life new-born,
In mating thrush and blossoming brush,
  In the hush o' the glowing morn.

Our hearts bound free as the open sea;
  Where now is our dole o' sorrow?
The winds have swept the tears we've wept—
  And promise a fairer morrow.

But this we pray as we go our way:
  To find the Hills o' Heather,
And, at hush o' night, in peace to light
  Our roadside fire together.

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THE COST OF CHILDREN

IN THE SERIES ON HOME-MAKING THE WOMAN'S PROFESSION

BY MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE

A NEW JERSEY farmer has made a careful estimate of the cost of raising potatoes. He has considered climate and fertilizer, cost of land and cost of labor, probabilities of marketing and dangers of waste on the way, and the toll to the industrious insect, and has concluded that every bushel of potatoes costs the Jersey farmer seventy-five cents. Potatoes are a valuable crop. An Iowa dairyman has figured that each cow costs twelve and a half cents a day above the cost of marketing her milk. Milk is a valuable crop. The cost of production has been standardized for practically every commodity. But nobody has worked out the cost of children, though they are the most valuable crop of all.

Children, like every other product, cost three kinds of things: brains, money, and muscle. The money cost is the only one of these three that is at all easy to estimate; obviously there is a minimum below which the most competent mother, let her sew and brew and bake ever so incessantly, cannot rear a child in health. But just what the very minimum, bargain-counter cost of children is no one seems to have determined, although from every side comes the cry that people do not have children because they cost so much.

Now, it will not do to put the subject aside with a Podsnappian wave of the arm, for when the irresistible tendency to increase the cost of living meets the immovable conviction that children are not only the greatest good to the individual but the most valuable gift to the State, something is bound to happen.

I drove up to Mahanoy City, a town in the anthracite fields, a few years ago. The coal-breakers stood like giant toboggan slides against the sky, and the culm piles were hand-made mountains beside the real hills—wonderful places for the adventurous young. But very few children of the sliding-down-hill age were in sight, and I remarked their absence to the driver.

"Oh, the Hunks and Polacks, they ain't got many children," said he, stolidly. "Three out of every five of 'em dies. But they don't lose much," he reassured me; "they mostly insure 'em for forty dollars. They say a child costs about eight dollars a year till it's five years old, and then it can sort o' scratch round for itself. When it's ten, it can go to work and help the family. So they insure 'em for forty dollars, and if they dies, they get their money back, and if they lives, they've got their kids. They don't stand to lose much either way," and he tapped his whip reflectively on the dashboard.

Eight dollars a year for five years!

Says Rowntree in his study of York, England:

"Every [unskilled] laborer who has as many as three children must pass through a time—probably lasting about ten years—when he and his family will be underfed. . . . If he has but two children, these conditions will be better to the extent of two shillings tenpence [a week]; if he has but one, they will be better to the extent of five shillings ha'penny."

According to this, it takes a minimum of two shillings tenpence a week to keep a child in York, or a little less than thirty-seven dollars a year. Of course these coal-miners' and unskilled laborers' children are distinctly "cheap" children. They come from families way below the efficiency line, and the only value of their budgets is to indicate the lowest limit of subsistence for a child—the limit below which automatic elimination takes place. No one would seriously hold that it is for the advantage of society to rear children in such shallow economic soil. Taking so much for granted, what do children cost in homes that have the money basis at least for social efficiency?

In the matter of children it is not safe to begin at the beginning, for doctors' bills on the one hand and generous friends on the other make the first cost of babies excessively difficult to determine.

"Our little daughter cost us twenty dollars the first year—ten for the doctor, ten for clothes—and I wish you could see what a

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beauty she is!" This from a Nebraska farm.

"It cost precisely six hundred and sixty-seven dollars to provide my baby's outfit—to get him here, to furnish him with crib, go-cart, high chair, and clothes, and to feed and care for him after he came." This from the wife of a New England business man.

Between these two range other first-year middle-class budgets, with the doctor's bill and the nurse's salary well in the foreground. The possibility of the first year's cost stretching suddenly into the hundreds is a grave thing to face. Suppose you were living on twelve hundred a year, how many hundreds could you save in the year before the child comes? The same erratic doctors' bills introduce a wide margin of variation into the dangerous second summer. For these reasons it is convenient to begin the study of the cost of children at the period between three and five, when the irregular expenses of babyhood are over, and those of compulsory schooling have not commenced. The tendency even of the rich is to dress children of this age simply, and the cost of food is kept pretty well within limits by the rigid requirements of health. It is the period when the cost of the child is affected more by the internal efficiency of the home and the capabilities of the parents, and less by outside influences, than at any other. What, then, is the yearly cost of children between three and five?

Mrs. Ardell, of Wisconsin, is a capable woman and a good manager. She stretches her husband's twelve hundred a year over about as many things as twelve hundred dollars can be made to cover. She seems to get a lot of joy out of life, and doesn't pay heavily for it in doctor's bills. She lives in a town with a soon-to-be-realized ambition to be a city, and has a tiny house and a large yard, where the four-year-old Ardell can disport himself in unwatched safety. Naturally she keeps no nursemaid nor other servant—one can't on twelve hundred.

Sixty-six dollars and twenty cents a year Master Ardell costs his parents in money; $43.80 for food, $10 for clothes, $10 for doctor's bills, $3.40 for incidentals. According to his mother's schedule, he gets no store-bought toys; he does not go to kindergarten; instead, he spends most of his waking hours out of doors while his mother keeps her attention tied to his little romper-strings, during the six days at least while her husband is in his office. She can rest from the cook-stove and broom by taking care of the baby. Professor Simon Patten seems to have had her in mind when he said:

"Whatever narrows the environment of individuals, or limits their activities, stops their growth and stops social progress."

It is perhaps fortunate for the community that Mrs. Ardell was fairly well educated and well read before the limiting influence of her small son fell upon her.

One wonders just how inevitable it is that the world should close in for the parents as it opens out for the child. Take the Wards, who live in a Pennsylvania town of about the same size as the Ardells', and who have the same income—twelve hundred a year. They, too, have a four-year-old son, but he costs them $95.17 a year—$28.97 more than the Ardells pay for theirs. The following is his list of expenses:

Clothes:		
Shoes (3 pairs at $2.00)	$6.00	
Suits (3 at $1.75)	5.25	
Overcoat	4.00	
Hat	1.00	
Stockings (8 pairs at 12½c.)	1.00	
Union suits (2 at 50c.)	1.00	
Body waist	.25	$18.50
Food (estimated)		45.67
Help (a woman to sit with him one night a week while his parents go to their reading circle)		13.00
Insurance (to provide for his education)		18.00
		$95.17

No doctor's bill stood against Mrs. Ward's son in 1911.

The extra money spent on this youngster is to provide for his education and to make it possible for his parents to promote their present efficiency. The Wards have set their faces against stagnation. Mr. Ward writes me of concerts and lectures they attend, of university extension schemes and co-operative buying experiments in which they are interested, and Mrs. Ward "keeps up her music." For these advantages they sacrifice something from their clothes and something from their savings, on the principle, as Mr. Ward states it, that "to save as an end in itself is vicious; the father and mother *must* be free to enter into the Larger Life."

From the standpoint of society as well as that of the children themselves, it seems important that they should take as little as possible from the present efficiency of their

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parents. Unless they more than make up to society for what they suppress in their parents, are they not a losing proposition? And is it right to place this heavy responsibility upon them?

Neither the Ardells nor the Wards celebrated the advent of their children by keying up their standard of living; they continued in the houses they occupied before the children were born, and generally went their old ways. When even a slightly improved standard is adopted, the cost of children goes up with a jump. Take the case of Mr. Merton, a New England salaried man, with an income of $1,800. He has two children, one ten, the other four years old, and with their coming he raised the entire level of his housekeeping.

"In addition to their direct expenditures," he writes, "about one hundred dollars should be reckoned as additional cost of rent, for if we had not had children we should have lived in a smaller house or else have rented enough rooms in our present one to bring the annual cost down correspondingly. For the same reason the children should be accounted as adding to the annual cost of fuel—perhaps $40. I think $20 would be below, rather than above, the amount chargeable to their account annually for added expense of washing and cleaning, replacement of bedding and table linen, and wear and tear of furniture."

Of this one hundred dollars, $54 is somewhat arbitrarily charged to the account of the four-year-old daughter, making her personal cost as follows:

Food	$35.00
Shelter, fuel, wear and tear	54.00
Clothes, etc	18.70
Doctor	4.00
Attendance (woman occasionally at night)	5.00
Toys	6.00
Sundries	3.00
	$125.70

The cost of children not only goes up with a jump with each modification of the standard of living, but the jump gains momentum at each level. A larger house means a fuller life for the mother, and a fuller life for the mother generally means the need of a nursemaid. Or, again, if a kindergarten is not available, or the parents prefer to have the child begin its education at home, the dancing-teacher is likely to be added to the nursemaid, and sometimes the trained kindergartner will supersede the unskilled attendant. This progression appears in the following group of budgets:

I—PENNSYLVANIA FAMILY. ANNUAL INCOME $3,500. GIRL FOUR YEARS OLD

Food, etc	$90.15
Clothes, etc	24.25
	$114.30

II—MAINE FAMILY. ANNUAL INCOME $4,500. BOY FOUR YEARS OLD

Food	$104.00
Clothes	60.00
Books, toys, etc	30.00
Nursemaid	156.00
Dancing lessons	10.00
	$360.00

III—NEW YORK FAMILY. ANNUAL INCOME $6,000. BOY FOUR YEARS OLD

Food:		
Milk (certified)	$74.40	
Fruit	21.60	
Eggs	9.00	$105.00
Clothing:		
Suits, etc	$48.00	
Shoes (made to order)	30.00	$78.00
Doctor		24.00
Insurance (for college education and start in life, etc.)		300.00
Carfare to parks		6.00
Barber		1.00
Incidentals		24.00
Dancing school		20.00
Trained kindergartner		624.00
		$1,182.00

This last budget (III) is about the upper limit of cost for a perfectly well child in the middle class. Stripped of those items which are either unusual or in excess of what is generally regarded as necessary—trained kindergartner, dancing school, large sum for insurance, made-to-order shoes, certified milk—even this comes within two hundred dollars.

From the consideration of these budgets, and many more in my possession, it seems safe to estimate the necessary cost of a child between the ages of three and five at about one hundred dollars a year when the mother is both housekeeper and nursemaid or teacher. This amount will be more than doubled where a nursemaid or teacher is employed.

A New England friend protests against the publication of such estimates as these, on the ground that "they will discourage young people from having children." She voices what I find to be a very general superstition, that it is wise to draw a pleasant veil over the cost till the offspring have actually arrived, because then the parents "will have

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to manage somehow"—as though each child arrived holding a certified check for its maintenance in one hand and directions for its care in the other! It is a way of teaching the dangerous doctrine of the value of ignorance. Are people any less ready to make sacrifices because they know just how great they will be? Would it conduce to the happiness of a child to know itself an inadvertent obstacle between its parents and their unrealized ambitions? Rather than ignore the facts, might it not be well to consider why, since a child is the most valuable gift a person can make to the community, the tax upon parents is so high as compared with their resources? What, for example, is the trouble back of such plaints as these I have received?

"My life has been dwarfed in raising my family."

"Our children have their higher efficiency curtailed in order that they may keep alive."

"Father and his ambition had to be sidetracked to educate us children, so our home must be classed as a non-paying one."

"No teacher in this part of the country can care for his children and have any money to spend in keeping himself mentally efficient."

"My wife is a wonderful manager, but no amount of management will make the salary my congregation pay me large enough to bring up two children on."

"My children say to me, 'Why, papa, can we not go on with our education?' And the only answer an indulgent father can make is to say frankly, 'Children, the family grew faster than papa's income, and now I must ask you to help through.'"

All these good people seem to be surprised and hurt. Are not children like flowers, growing of God's good grace? Well, if we had the statistics in black and white, it is probable that we should find some cash outlay necessary to raise dandelions; and it wouldn't make them any less welcome in the springtime, either!

Now, such plaints do not appear to be based on the "fixed costs" of children, although an analysis of many budgets shows that these increase from $100 for a child between three and five, to $128 when the child is seven years old, $180 when it is between ten and twelve, and $212 when it is between fourteen and sixteen. They are based on the uncertain costs of middle-class standards, on the demand for health, and education, and a start in life.

It is strange that American middle-class homes will allow themselves to be crippled financially by the need of sending their children to private schools and to save money for their college courses. Is not the right to free education accepted by us all? I have letters from one family with an income of only $2,400 a year, showing how it is trying in vain to stagger along under the burden of a son in college and two daughters in a private school. This family is by no means exceptional; and yet few parents even dream of whispering into the public ear that it is the business of the State to provide free such education as their children *ought* to have—an incontrovertible example of home incompetence. For often it is the very parents who give their children a paid-for education who feel that they must put by money to support them as young men and women while they are finding out what work they are fitted to do.

It is not, perhaps, so strange that they take no means to free themselves from the increasing menace of the doctor's bill. Among more than a hundred letters only one makes any suggestion to diminish the increasing cost of health. This is from a New York physician, who believes that we should have free health as we have, theoretically, free education.

"The community should demand that the best talent be in charge of free hospitals and clinics," he writes, "that they should devote all their time to their respective fields of service, and be so remunerated as to make public health service not only an object of wage-earning, but also an incentive for greater professional skill."

These three—health, education, and a start in life—are the great unknown quantities in the money cost of children that imperil the middle-class standards of living. But what of those other costs—costs of brain and muscle—that also imperil the middle-class ideals?

A college professor has got this muscle cost down to a time measure.

"The amount of my wife's time," he says, "taken daily because of the children—including the time spent in dressmaking for them, washing, ironing, etc.—averages between three and four hours. Probably an hour of my time is taken, in addition. The necessity of being at home to attend to the children obliges my wife to forego many pleasant social activities, and to curtail greatly the time she might otherwise devote to benevolent or public objects." He, however, has a yard in which his children can safely play without supervision.

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In the city there would be four or five hours in addition spent with the child in the street. I, who have been a nursemaid to other people's children in homes of every grade, from those in which the $4.50 paid me strained the family pocketbook to those in which the servants' dining-table below stairs looked like a dinner-party, know something of the physical tax of these ten hours; it was always an exhausted body and a bedraggled brain that I took to bed with me at night.

"I can write, and I have a head for facts and figures," a mother of three children writes me. "I would be glad to be of use in the community; I don't *want* to be a social drone; but I have my hands full truly, taking care of my children."

"But," I hear my New England friend ask, "what greater privilege could that woman have than to devote herself to her children?"

Is it, after all, a question of devotion? Most women who write me think that they cannot be good mothers if they limit their social service to their own homes. And obviously it is to the advantage of society to get a double value from them, if possible. There is a real demand for some mother-saving device, particularly while the children are young. The only devices we have to-day are the nursemaid and the kindergarten.

Oh, that nursemaid! Don't I know her? No one who has merely *employed* a nursemaid can know her as one who has actually *been* her does. I've sat with her in employment offices looking for a place; I've walked by her side pushing baby-carriages through the streets; I've gone to dances with her and helped her entertain her "gentlemen friends;" and I know her from the fat-buttoned shoes she wears to the way she does her hair. A few trained and competent nursemaids I met in different parts of the country, but they aren't a tenth of one per cent of enough to go round. And these few good, efficient nursemaids—aren't they the sort of women whom it is for the advantage of society to allow to marry and bring up their own children? And the others—the incompetent sort—ought they to be intrusted with any children at all? It does not seem to me that the nursemaid *is* a mother-saving device from the standpoint of society at large, because so much of the work she does badly or misdoes has to be done over later at an increased cost. Here and there groups of women are trying to solve this problem by co-operative nurseries under trained child-gardeners; the kindergarten solves it for a few hours each day for some people; but the problem as a whole has not been met.

The minimum cost of children sums itself up simply enough. It doesn't cost a prohibitive amount to clothe and feed and shelter them. People who believe their duties to their children are limited to these three things do not complain of the cost. The difficulty is that it *may* cost a great deal to keep them in perfect physical fitness, to educate them, and to start them in life, and it's sure to cost a great deal of time and strength to care for them properly. People who believe their duties to include all these things are likely to be appalled at the prospect.

I was talking the other day with the wife of a high-salaried professional man. Before her marriage she had been a writer earning a good income. She has two children, and, because of her unwillingness to have anything but the best medical care, the older of them has cost more than six thousand dollars in seven years. Moreover, like an increasing number of middle-class women, she feels that the public schools are not providing the kind of education she wants her children to have, and, because she cannot single-handedly make the public schools what she thinks they ought to be, she has given up her profession and is devoting her entire time to training her children at home.

"I wish we could have another child," she said to me; "but, judging by what Alice and Tom have cost us, I know we shall have to go without one. Besides, I'm not a teacher by nature or training, and I'm never certain that the care I give them is the very best."

Hitherto society has placed the cost of improving the quality of children exclusively upon the parents, with the result that, as standards rise, homes like that of this professional man feel compelled to limit their output. This suggests what is probably the most serious unanswered question in the development of home efficiency—not whether people can afford to have children, but whether society can afford to have those people who are intelligent enough to count the cost go without them.

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NIELS JUEL'S CHAIR

BY JACOB A. RIIS

NORTH of the Old Town the causeway stretched white and straight through plain and barren moor toward the hill country in the east. Halfway, amid billowing fields of rye dotted with dark cairns that spoke of the age-long toil which had wrested the land from the niggard heath, was Sönderskov, the "South Forest," fairyland of my boyish dreams. The manor-house stood within ancient moats, and its oak-paneled halls hid secret stairways and a hoary ghost that walked the midnight watches. In the forest moss-grown beeches and gnarled oaks hung out their green banners in spring. Deep in its bosom slumbered a peaceful lake where the bittern strummed in the long northern twilight and the fox had his hole under the bank. In the long ago the forest told me a story, and this is how it ran:

A party of young people from the manor had been "dancing in the May" on the green. Tired and hot from their play, they were resting now, discussing soberly the news of the day. It was bad enough, all of it, to sober even the gayest among them. The year before, King Christian had struck the blow against Denmark's enemies which rings down to the present day in the national hymn:

> "King Christian stood by the lofty mast
> In mist and smoke."

But the fruits of the great victory that nearly cost the aged king his life had been wasted by incompetent commanders, and Denmark's power on the sea was broken. The enemy overran the land and was even then in possession of the ancient capital of Ribe. Duke Frederik had stormed and retaken it a few months before, but the main army had failed him in his hour of need, and he was forced to fall back. Thus matters stood in the spring of 1645, that found our little party assembled at Sönderskov.

A little apart from the rest a couple strolled by the lake with eyes only for each other. The girl might have been sixteen. She was tall and fair and wore the young leaf of the beech in her hair, proclaiming her the queen of the May. He was hardly yet man-grown, but sturdy of build, and with a fine, strong face. Younker Niels was the nephew of Squire Juel of the manor, and a page in the train of Duke Frederik, who had sent him with a message to his kinsman while he led his troops across the country. There he had met Margaret Ulfeld, and the two had spent a happy week of sunshine and play together, but now it was over. That morning an order had come summoning Younker Niels to his master; his horse was even then being saddled for the journey. A silence fell between them as they walked. He switched the rushes moodily with a hazel rod.

"Brought he good news, the runner from the Duke?" she ventured at random.

The lad cut viciously at the reeds with his switch. "Good news, say you? Since when has a messenger from the King's armies brought news to rejoice a Danish heart?"

"There is, then, no end of the fighting?"

"Nay; rather there is no beginning," rejoined Niels, bitterly. "The end will come soon enough. They are even now bidding us accept terms of peace that will break King Christian's heart. In troth, he seemeth the one man in Denmark to-day, though he stand with one foot in the grave. Did not Master Anders deem it 'too cold,' three months agone, to march to the aid of the Duke when he had taken Ribe? And he the leader of the King's armies!"

The maiden was silent a while. Then she said, lightly:

"And you, Younker Niels; what of you when your service with the Duke is at an end? Go you to the King's court?"

"Not I, Margaret! I have stood idle long enough behind a great man's chair. The Juels were never at home with flattery and soft speeches. My mind is made up for foreign parts and service where fighting and fame go together still. There is van Tromp in Holland and Admiral de Ruyter, men worthy of the name. To them I shall go and learn how to fight Denmark's foes. You know our escutcheon, Margaret—a star above the waves. I would that the house of Juel might yet make good its promise. That is the service I would render to my King, God helping me."

The youth had paused in the path. His head was raised proudly and his eyes shone. Her own kindled with his enthusiasm, but she looked away, and, plucking the leaves from a flower, let them fall unheeded.

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"It is a long way, and full of perils. Belike we shall not see you again."

Niels laughed a joyous little laugh and, putting his arm around her waist, drew her close.

"Truly, there is no fighting without peril; but remember my motto: *Nec temere, nec timide*—reckless not, yet never afraid, since Latin is not for girls. Come back I will, sweet Margaret, and claim thee as my bonnie bride—that thou mayest never mistrust. Let this strong oak be witness that I pledge thee my troth while life shall last." With that he drew his dagger and carved on the straight and shapely trunk a heart, and within it the letters N. J. and M. U. And so the lovers parted, and the tree kept their pledge.

The seasons passed. The birds built their nests in the oak tree and sang their songs of love in spring and summer; the winter storms swept it and wrapped it in their white embrace. The bark grew over the wounds made by Younker Niels's dagger, and presently they were gone. But the tree only held the lovers' secret closer to its heart. Of him word came now and then. He was winning laurels in the service of the Dutch. Through the two years' struggle with England he served under Marten van Tromp, sharing his victories and his defeats. When that doughty captain sailed up the Thames with a broom at the masthead, after whipping Admiral Blake in "The Downs," Niels Juel was with him. He mourned with the fleet that bore its commander back to his home, dead, after his last battle. They heard of Niels after that, serving on the flagship of de Ruyter against the pirates of the Barbary States. Seven years he fared with his Dutch friends, and then he turned his face toward home.

He came in an hour when Denmark needed men. The Swedes were knocking at the gate of King Frederik's capital, and the King, who had not forgotten his old page, now grown a renowned sailor, hailed him with joy. There was little to do for the ships in midwinter, and in the desperate defense of Copenhagen Juel fought on the walls beside king and burgher. In a great sortie that gave the hard-pressed garrison room he led the ships' crews and did Karl Gustav's army much harm. When at last peace was made, he settled down to long years of hard work as commanding admiral of the Danish navy. But first he brought home as his bride the fair Margaret, who had waited for him, true to her promise, through all the years. That it was a marriage for love, all men said. But whether he claimed her under the oak that had witnessed their tryst only the great tree knew, and it kept its secret.

Two little younkers and three fair-haired daughters stood at his knee when the July day dawned, in the year 1677, that lives forever in Danish history as Niels Juel's day. A mighty fleet threatened Denmark. The King was away in Sweden, making war. If the enemy broke his way through and reached the capital, the King was lost and the country with him, for the orders were to burn and lay waste without mercy. Holland was to send help, but it had not come. Niels Juel lay in the Bay of Köge, blocking the way to Copenhagen, where the people were praying in the churches that the Dutchmen would hurry. The Swedish batteries overmatched his by more than five hundred guns, and anxious orders had been sent to him to take no chances. He took none. He waited till the wind was fair; then he fell upon them like a thunderbolt, and, after an all-day fight the thunder of which was heard with beating hearts by two nations, he swept them from the sea. The Swedes lost twenty-two of their thirty-six ships; twelve hundred of their crews were slain, and three thousand made prisoners. Not to the end of the war did they dare show their flag again in the Baltic. Twice Niels Juel's flagship was shot to pieces during the battle, but he conquered with a third. He had made good the promise of the star in the shield of the Juels. In the hymn of his people he stands for all time with King Christian:

"Niels Juel gave heed to the tempest's roar,
Now is the hour!
He hoisted the blood-red flag once more
And smote upon the foe full sore,
And shouted loud through tempest's roar,
'Now is the hour!'
'Fly!' shouted they, 'for shelter fly!
Of Denmark's Juel who can defy
The power!'"

At Sönderskov they drank deep to the hero's health when the slow post brought them news of the battle, and also that the Dutchmen had landed that same night in time to share, with such grace as they could, in the rejoicing over the victory that had been won without them.

"Let me see," said the old squire as he set his tankard down, "was there not a tree in the woods they called Younker Niels's

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Oak?" But there was no one who remembered. Only the tree had not forgotten. It hugged its prize ever closer, and in the balmy summer night its leaves stirred in the loitering breeze and the slumbering birds dreamed of love and of glory.

White winter held the land chained far and wide. The sun looked timidly over the southern horizon upon a knot of men entering the forest. They carried axes, and as they went they spoke in low tones, as do men where there is a death in the house. They spoke of the treacherous attack upon their country in the midst of peace by an unsuspected foe who had burned the King's capital and carried away his ships, sparing not even the hulks on the stocks, but destroying them where they stood. Of all her proud fleet only a single fighting ship that happened to be away from home was left to stricken Denmark. The very tools and timbers they had carried away, lest her people make haste to avenge their tort. Yet was the nation's courage not broken. The call had gone out for all the oak timber that was sound and strong, that a new navy might be built with speed, to give battle to the despoilers. But the hearts of the men were heavy as they searched in the woods for such trees as would answer. For the land lacked a leader.

"Had we only now a Niels Juel," said one of them, beating his hands to keep warm, "we should have nothing to fear. Hallo! here is one," and he pointed to a stout old oak that stood close by the frozen lake.

It was Younker Niels's oak, but even he would not have known it. The storms of a hundred years had tossed and torn it since they laid him to rest, and many of its branches were broken and dead. But at heart the old tree was as sound as ever, and, as it shivered under the blows of the woodsmen, it rejoiced that it died to serve the cause and the land he loved.

"No stouter stick for a ship of the line ever grew in Denmark," they said as they stripped it of its branches. "May luck go with it!"

At the Navy-Yard they took it and fashioned it into the hull of a great ship, the lines of which were then being laid, and when it was full-grown and sailed upon the seas, it was christened by a slender, fair-haired girl who broke a bottle of the wine of the South upon its prow and called it "Niels Juel." She did not know, nor did any one else, that deep in one of its timbers were graven the letters of his name and that of the slender, fair-haired girl of his day to whom he had pledged his troth in that May-time under the old oak tree.

The luck it brought was not that of war. Like its namesake, for many a long day the "Niels Juel" was destined to stand mute in its place, or dance attendance upon the whims of decorated officials who had never smelled powder. Napoleon was on St. Helena, and the world was wearied with the shedding of blood. But as his day came to Admiral Juel, so it came at last to the ship they had called after him. Denmark was fighting her hardest fight alone, against hopeless odds. Two great Powers, bent on her destruction, had overwhelmed her on land. In the North Sea lay their ships seeking battle with the Danish Commander, Captain Suensson, who had hoisted his flag on the "Niels Juel." Under Heligoland he met them on the 9th of May, 1864, fought them to a finish, and drove them into neutral English waters, the Austrian flagship on fire and burning. The Prussian gunboats were a long way ahead in the race for safe shelter. When the news was flashed to England and read in the House of Commons before yet the cannon had ceased thundering, the House broke into loud cheers. It was all the reparation Britain ever made for the great robbery of half a century before. Even then, it was her ship, warning Captain Suensson off, that alone saved Germany's budding navy from destruction.

Once more had Niels Juel hoisted his blood-red flag upon the sea. The blow he "smote upon the foe full sore" was his last. It did not avail to save his country from its relentless foes, but it came in the hour of its extremity as balm upon a deep and gaping wound.

So ran the story which the forest of Sönderskov told me in the long ago. All things have a reason, and this is mine for telling it now in a distant land, and in a tongue which its hero in his day heard spoken only by foes: When last I was in Copenhagen they were breaking up the Niels Juel. The old hulk lay dismantled in the Navy-Yard, and they were taking out the oaken timbers, sound yet as the day they were put in. They promised me then that they would send me some of the sticks, and they kept their promise. Of the wood I had a chair made, and I am sitting in

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it now writing this. For all I can tell it may be of the very tree in which Younker Niels carved his name cipher and the fair Margaret's on the day when they parted in the forest. Whether it is or not, I serve notice on all preachers of peace-at-any-price to give me a wide berth when I am sitting in Niels Juel's chair.

A POET OF THE PEOPLE

BY LOUISE WATERMAN WISE

We do not with sufficient plainness, or sufficient profoundness, address ourselves to life, nor dare we chant our own times and social circumstances.—*Emerson.*

THERE is a man in England who with sufficient plainness and sufficient profoundness is addressing himself to life, and daring to chant his own times and social circumstances, who ought to become known to America. He is bringing a message which might well rouse his day and generation to an understanding of and a sympathy with life's disinherited—the overworked masses.

A Millet in word-painting, who writes with a terrible simplicity, is Wilfred Wilson Gibson, born in Hexham, England, in 1878, of whom Canon Cheyne wrote a short time ago in the "Christian Commonwealth" of London: "A new poet of the people has risen up among us—the story of a soul is written as plainly in 'Daily Bread' as in 'The Divine Comedy' and in 'Paradise Lost.'"

Here I will deal only with Mr. Gibson's latest work, entitled "Daily Bread," a series of dramatic poems in irregular rhythm which record the sorrows and tragedies and terrors that are every-day occurrences in the lives of the breadwinners of England, alike in all particulars to the experiences of our own working people in America. Mr. Gibson is a genuine singer of his own day, and turns into appealing harmony the world's harshly jarring notes of poverty and pain.

In these dramatic poems we move among men and women so used to toil and pain that they utter little complaint over their hard condition. Yet their sufferings go straight to our hearts, as we see these vivid pictures painted with power, albeit with rare restraint. The lives of fishermen, stokers, and miners rouse us to deepest sympathy, though there is not a line of sentimentalism in the seventeen short dramas which make up the three-volume series. The plays are grimly real and intensely dramatic, though they but show the daily struggle for existence and man's heroic power of endurance. But let the poet of the people speak for himself.

In the introductory lines of the first volume of "Daily Bread" we get the *leit-motif* of his verse:

"All life moving to one measure—
Daily bread, daily bread—
Bread of life and bread of labor,
Bread of bitterness and sorrow,
Hand-to-mouth and no to-morrow,
Dearth for housemate, death for neighbor, . . .
Yet, when all the babes are fed,
Love, are there not crumbs to treasure?"

Strong, noble women are presented to us, almost every one the heartener of man, the undismayed burden-bearer, who holds his target ever higher. What more impressive picture of heartbreak and hope deferred is conceivable than is outlined in the words of the blind old mother, in "The Betrothed," waiting in vain for the return of her son to the fishing village, listening as footstep after footstep passes her threshold at the boat's return?

"My son comes home,
And with him comes the hope
Of all my happiness.
For, surely, life—
How long it takes to get the nets ashore . . .
But I hear footsteps coming . . .
They stop short.
Some one has crossed his threshold, and won home.
Joy has come home to some one's heart.
Again a rush of feet, . . .
But they have passed the door.
I might have known 'twas not his foot.
And still, I thought
That no one could have beaten my boy home.
Surely, by now, the nets are out,
And all made trim and ship-shape.
And yet,
He does not come."

"The Garret," merely a strong bit of dialogue, deals with the unemployment of the

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workingman who hungers for work as he does for food.

"'Tis hungry tramping through the streets all day
From works to works,
And standing in the throng,
Outside the factory gates,
Still hoping against hope that when they open,
I, too, may be allowed to slip inside.
But times are bad;
And when the gates close to,
I ever find myself among the crowd,
Shut out from work and bread. . . .
For here men starve;
Yea, men and women starve;
And starving folk are ill to live with.
Such sights I've seen!
I did not think that hell could hold such sights.
But here, where hundreds hunger,
And wander shelterless at night,
Or sleep beneath dark arches,
Or on cold benches, wrapped in soaking fog,
Here . . . here is hell!"

"The Night Shift" must be read in its entirety. It is of the essence of tragedy. The self-denying, watchful love of the dead miner's mother is unforgetable once read. "The Call" one cannot read dry-eyed. "In Summer Dawn" Laban expresses a common experience when he says:

"And yet, it's hard that in an honest day's work
A strong man cannot earn enough
To keep his wife and family."

There are touches of light which only show the gloom more intensely, and we put down the volumes with a heightened understanding of the sorrows and trials of the toilers of the nations, and with a deeper reverence for the noble fortitude with which they meet them.

THE SPECTATOR

THE Spectator has surveyed mankind and the aspects of inanimate nature through many a medium, and has curiously noted their various effects. He has been charmed by the softening of color due to the humid atmosphere of the British Isles, and as well by the clear and sharp effects given by our own electric air. He is aware of the strange visions that a fog can present; but none of his experiences had prepared him for the weird performances he recently witnessed with no other aid than a few simple panes of window glass such as are to be found in most rural homes. If it be true, as some critics have told us, that humor depends largely upon the unexpected yet harmless appearance of the incongruous, then these window-sashes might put in a claim to rank among the humorists of the inanimate world—in the same category with kittens, monkeys, and the proverbial "basket of chips."

In a seaside cottage the Spectator sat at dinner, and beguiled the minutes between courses by gazing upon that ordinarily dignified object, the ocean. The element was in mild tumult, exhibiting white-capped waves, not angry, but perhaps a little out of humor. Viewed with the naked eye, the spectacle was impressive, but hardly remarkable. Seen through those distorting panes, the distant horizon was a jagged profile of monstrous waves such as might have affrighted Sir John Mandeville or Sindbad the Sailor. They seemed no less than forty feet high, and the Sierras presented nothing to excel their fictitious outlines. Nor was their shape their only claim to the bizarre; they had old Proteus beaten to a frazzle in his lightning-change specialty. They reminded the Spectator of those supernal and unparalleled dancers of hydrogen flame that bound and pirouette around the solar corona—indulging, he is credibly informed, in little *pas seuls* of some two hundred and fifty thousand miles a minute.

The Spectator begs the indulgence of his astronomical readers if he has, in an excess of caution, understated the case. But these are the moments when our window-sash is in its Ercles vein—when it would dazzle the eyes of the groundlings. Anon, when it prefers to laugh in Rabelais's easy chair, it finds a favorite plaything in a simple, an unlettered Jersey cow. Mark where she comes, meandering coyly o'er the lea, with no thought of causing mirth or mocking in the mind of the Spectator. She arrives within the mystic circle, the magic influence of the window-sash, and straightway, if the Spectator may trust the evidence of his senses *and* the medium, our harmless, necessary Jersey is bewitched. Vibratory tremors can be seen to travel from wiggling horns to tufted tail, throwing into ripples all the anatomy. Again she steps forward for pasture new and bends to crop the herbage; and the slight movement causes her to separate into two unrelated portions, each furiously agitated by independent and overpowering emotions. But in a moment the two pieces fly together again, reconstructing a perfectly good cow—even a better cow than ever, for as she tosses her head in air it is elongated into giraffean proportions, while the corkscrew is a type of straightness in comparison

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with her sinuous horns. She steps forward again, and with a final bewildering convulsion too quick for the eye of the Spectator she vanishes from sight as if she were an aurora borealis, or something as unsubstantial.

So much for the window-sash and the Jersey cow. Her master, a respectable resident with no nonsense about him, is treated with no more respect. To the sprite of the sash he is no more than a human accordion—for he is compressed at one moment, expanded at another, in a way that would bring fear to the soul of the most intrepid contortionist that ever put his feet around the back of his neck for the enlightenment of a discriminating public. Nay, more. When our bucolic friend turns around to view the land, the window-sash displays a new accomplishment. It pierces the mortal frame of the rural wight with a space of nothingness, around which the body flows as a brook about an isle until it unites again below to form something bearing a resemblance to a pair of legs draped in blue denim. The Spectator is reminded by very difference of Herrick and of the "liquefaction of her clothes," and he wonders if the poet viewed Julia through such medium as this. It may be that Mother Goose had a similar window, and thus found inspiration for the deathless rhyme relating to the crooked man who went a crooked mile and found crooked money—as others have since along the same route.

Those who dwell in earthquake zones may rightly be perturbed when they behold the solid earth to wave, to tremble, to shake, and otherwise to misconduct itself. To them these are unusual symptoms, and possibly indicative of trouble. But to the Spectator, snugly ensconced behind his window, this is the ordinary, the normal condition. This is unlike the land where you must run at full speed to remain in one place; for here you must keep very still if you would have the world at rest.

The grass-grown space about the house is never nearly so still as the quivering aspen. The Spectator has but to nod, and it falls to wriggling like a too subservient spaniel flattered by a master's notice, and dances if, like Jove, he shake his ambrosial locks. The sash seems to have all the power of the fairy-story fiddle that set everything to dancing, from the king on his throne to the hangman beside the gibbet.

It is no respecter of persons. Behold the reverend figure of the clergyman, whom even the rudest small boy greets with unaccustomed courtesy. Yet, viewed through this disrespectful medium of ours, his dignified progress becomes a series of gyrations such as would better befit a merry-andrew at a county fair, or one of those exquisite caricatures that the educative "colored supplements" to newspapers present to the youth of the country so that they may learn reverence for their elders.

The ecclesiastic's stride is at times so transmogrified as to revive memories of the giants who found rapid transit in seven-league boots, and at other times is shortened until he makes progress like some incapably hobbling Gaffer Green.

All this might be borne with patience. But the Spectator considers it one of the privileges of his age and sedate character to gaze approvingly upon the grace and beauty of such attractive maidens as good fortune sends within fair range of his window. There are many for whom the most crystalline plate-glass is not too trying a medium. Their beauty and their grace might make glad the heart of one far less appreciative than the Spectator, and for this he is thankful—as for blue skies, green woods, or rolling meadows. Therefore he brings it as a fair indictment against the aforementioned window-sash that, with malice and evil contrivement, it casts its wicked spell before the Spectator's eyes in such manner as to present, instead of sweet nymphs and gentle demoiselles, the vision of certain distorted creatures who might better dwell in some Doré drawing of Nightmare Land than in this pleasant countryside. When pretty girls go by, all the windows that furnish points of vantage should be of pellucid honesty, for creation is meant to present no fairer sight to the eyes of man.

With this exception, and a few like it, the moving-picture show presented by the window-sash is only amusing, and the Spectator is tempted to recommend such a medium for curing the megrims. Indeed, the idea occurred to him of sending the whole apparatus, carefully packed, to a few of his friends who take far too serious views of their surroundings. When one was cured, he could forward the sash to the next in turn, and so on.

Imagine its kaleidoscopic magic exercised for the benefit of some poor "shut-in" whose present field of view suffers from monotony and gray dullness. Seen through our sash, the straightest, plainest picket fence over the way, now an austere succession of right lines and rigid angles, becomes instinct with life, and all the curves of *l'art nouveau*—squirming as if tickled, and restless as eels in an eel-pot.

The house opposite, though of the peculiarly absurd architecture which is most popular in country towns, when seen under the new influence becomes a new study at every moment, since each window, door, post, and pillar thrills and moves with a longing to be different from its fellows. Nay, the ordinary passers-by be-

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come a procession of such "antiques and horribles" as used to parade the streets on Thanksgiving Day in the Spectator's youth and bring trembling amusement to his infant mind; for they were literally "terribly funny" to the eye of childhood.

A distinguished critic has told us that art is nature viewed through a temperament; but even a greater critic might be puzzled to define the result of viewing nature through these country window-panes, when all things are made to reel in a phantasmagoria wherein whatever is won't be long, and whatever was will never be again.

Seriously, can those who view the outdoor world through such an outlook be blamed if they find their conceptions of natural beauty somewhat degraded? It cannot be wholesome for the æsthetic faculties to have beauty thus changed to ugliness and deformity. Yet thousands of homes possess nothing much better for viewing their outward surroundings than these liar-panes that make the most exquisite landscape into daubed caricatures without beauty or comeliness.

Money enough to make all such windows true reporters of welcome facts could in many cases be most advantageously saved by the omission of certain cheap ornaments, or "finish" either worthless or harmful. Every room with a window that gives an opportunity for natural beauty to enter the home and the souls of its inmates should be a truth-telling crystal whereby might be admitted the sweet influences of sunshine, of cloud pageantry, of whatever good comes from the graces of earth.

The Spectator prefers that his readers should draw their own morals from his fables and facts. But as he has read his own intentionally playful story of the country window, he has wondered if some other reader might not be glad to know that this window seemed to him a type of much else—of many other mediums through which we all view the world.

It is easy to avoid the window's errors and distortions by simply raising the sash or stepping out of doors. But even then are we not viewing the world through another distorting interference? To see the truth, in some cases, we shall need to go out from our own door-yard, or even out of our own village, county, State, or country. He who cannot thus leave his own surroundings and see for himself must rely upon the reports of others if he would know that the Jersey cow is not such a monster as the window showed, and that the clergyman's progress is such as befits his cloth and his station. And unless his witnesses be trustworthy, he has but exchanged one set of errors for another.

The Spectator wonders if there has occurred to any of his readers—as to himself—the analogy between the country window and many newspapers upon which the average citizen relies for his understanding of the outward world. Some few of these, at least, seem, like the wicked window, to make beauty into ugliness, love into self-seeking, grace into vanity, and so on through a long catalogue of changelings wherewith mischievous or malicious spirits replace angelic gifts.

But we will not wax didactic over the goblin pane. Let us only laugh at its quaint magic, consider it as a mere seeming, and reserve for the real world due faith and credit.

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

FRANCE AND GERMANY: A FRENCH VIEW

Though I am a humble political writer in comparison with his Excellency Count von Bernstorff, Ambassador from Germany, allow me to make some comments upon his article on the Moroccan crisis. He frankly says that the Franco-German negotiations have passed into history, and therefore that he is entitled to treat them from a historical point of view. Every one will agree with him in that respect. But there are so many ways of dealing with history! The method of the German Ambassador fails to prove itself "scientific" to the French students of foreign affairs. Let me try to analyze his views in order to show some of the incomplete or inconsistent statements contained in his article.

After a brief relation of the events which were concluded by the Algeciras pact, Count von Bernstorff complains about the weakness of the Muley-Hafid régime. He forgets to recall the intrigues of Germany which really aimed at creating a permanent anarchy in the Maghzen Empire and which tried to prevent the French from carrying out their mandate of international police.

Having failed in their disturbing projects, the Germans were obliged to sign the treaty of February 9, 1909. By that supplementary act to the Algeciras treaty they solemnly gave up *every political purpose* in Morocco, and only asked the protection of their *economical* interests.

It was indeed a moral pledge of the highest importance. Consequently it proved to be very

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annoying to the Germans, and I understand very well why Count von Bernstorff begins his declarations by these words: "*The course of events will always prove to be more powerful than the most perfectly worded treaty provisions.*" It is, in fact, easy to escape the obligations of the regular treaties by giving for excuse the *power of events!*

We know what happened. Taking advantage of the troubles which occurred when M. Pichon left the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the German diplomats denounced the Fez expedition as a mere French trick to conquer Morocco, and inspired in the press various *communiqués* on that subject. The German Ambassador at Washington adopts their version in his article. Yet the German Consul at Fez, who at critical times required the French aid to protect his fellow-citizens, is in complete disaccord with the Ambassador. The French Foreign Office, to show its good faith, has published the document.

The most extraordinary thing in the Ambassador's article is that he denies that there was any trouble in Morocco to justify the French action, while later he states that the disturbance was sufficiently alarming to send a German boat to Agadir.

Either there was really a danger for foreigners—and the duty of France was to act for their protection in virtue of her international right of police—or there was no danger at all, and the German demonstration was a *political* blunder in spite of the formal treaty of February, 1909!

Count von Bernstorff, in the course of the discussion, recognizes that Germany wanted to bring to bear a moral pressure upon France in order to acquire some "compensation." Then he goes on to explain that *pourparlers* were open to discuss the kind of "compensation" that should be given to Germany for her adhesion to the French protectorate.

It seems premature to deal in detail with the value of what each country has gained or lost in the bargain. Though we have now a free hand in Morocco, the popular feeling in France is that the former Premier Caillaux, influenced by financial groups, has gone too far in his dealings concerning the compensation. This occult and financial diplomacy has been fatal to him. Nevertheless, it is impossible to say whether the new treaty will bring peace or war. It depends upon the loyalty of Germany in respecting the Congolese conventions.

As for the task of France in Morocco—an immense and difficult one—it will take several years, many millions of dollars, and much French blood to perform it. But all those who have followed the French advance in Africa—and there are among them many impartial Americans—agree that France has always been respectful of international agreements, and that it has always worked without selfishness for the benefit of civilization. Its ambition is to keep with France the sympathy of the world while establishing a Moroccan protectorate, for we still believe that in spite of the "power of events" it is always possible to honor the signature given.

New York City. FRANÇOIS DE TESSAN.

THE PARCELS POST PROBLEM

I

In your issue for December 30, 1911, in commenting on President Taft's attitude toward a parcels post act, you say, "We are convinced that the President has the country behind him," and "we heartily agree with him when he says that, instead of destroying the business of the country, the adoption of a parcels post will increase business for the benefit of all." With a general knowledge of business conditions in the rural portions of our country, I would say decidedly that the sole beneficiaries of a parcels post would be, directly, city catalogue merchants and, supposedly, interior farmers, neither of whom need any class legislation.

I admire the President's frank statement of his convictions, also yours; but I distrust the source of your information. Parcels post is a pet scheme of catalogue houses, advocated covertly, to secure cheaper transportation, that they may more easily separate the gullible from their money, to the lasting injury of rural village merchants, who are the mainstay of all financial, social, educational, and religious movements in their communities. My home town of three thousand population is typical of thousands of villages throughout the States—a good cash market for every farm and garden product, three banks, enterprising merchants in sufficient numbers to preclude excessive profits, yet many near-by farmers whose misguided ambition to be independent of their best friends causes them to take the money received for their products from the home dealer—who often loses in the transaction—and remit in advance to catalogue houses for merchandise.

If these conditions continue, and become more tense through the Government's fostering aid, thousands of rural merchants, with heavy expenses incurred to meet modern demands, must of necessity turn to some more remunerative occupation; then, when our home markets are destroyed, farms and their products must inevitably depreciate. Co-operation between home business men and the buying and selling public is absolutely necessary to a prosperous community of varied vocations.

In the words of a prominent United States Senator, I believe that legislation should always be preceded by accurate information.

Montpelier, Ohio. J. B. JONES.

II

Your correspondent Francis G. Richards writes in The Outlook of November 18, 1911,

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that the parcels post would deliver us from the tyranny of the express companies.

I have no defense to make for the express companies, but I would call attention to the fact that to correct the evils and to seek relief from the "tyrants" the numerous merchants over the country should not be punished. Whatever benefit the parcels post would bring, there are thousands upon thousands of honest and reliable business men all over the country who would suffer by reason of a parcels post. I would suggest that there are other ways of remedying the difficulty.

Furthermore, we are assured that the Government buildings are not adequate at the present time to handle express business, so that the loss such as the correspondent complains of would be just as probable under the parcels post as under the express company.

The advocate of a parcels post must not undertake to compare European conditions with those of our country, which are entirely different. Furthermore, it would be unfair to tax every person for the benefit of a few large mail order houses, which would be the largest beneficiaries under a parcels post, for it is proposed to carry merchandise at the rate of less than cost to the Government. That is unfair and unbusinesslike. Would not the better plan be to have the railway companies, that now have the facilities and carry the goods, do the work of the express companies?

A. J. GAEHR.

III

Your correspondent closes her letter, "The Tyranny of the Express Companies," with a most pertinent question, "Why not a parcels post?"

It has been thought that the express companies owned the United States Senate, especially so far as the representation from this State was concerned. But there is another source of opposition growing in intensity. There is scarcely a retail dealer in the smaller cities, towns, and villages of the country who is not most bitterly opposed to the parcels post. This touches very closely the high cost of living, first as the parcels post would bring closer together producer and consumer; secondly, because the proportion of producers is altogether too small. There is a large class for whom it is easier and more congenial to get a comfortable living from large profits on small sales than to produce something that adds to the material wealth of the community. In most towns one-fourth the number of grocers, one-half the number of dry-goods stores, meat markets, etc., might do the business at great saving in number of clerks and in delivery expenses; while there is scarcely a farm in the country that might not be made to produce from two to four times as much as it now produces, by the expenditure of more intelligent labor. Certainly the more there is produced the more there will be to use and enjoy, and the reduction of the cost of transportation and middlemen's profits must tend to relieve the strain of the high cost of living.

J. H. HERENDEEN.

Angelica, New York.

JUDICIAL DECISIONS—FIRST PRINCIPLES

In dealing with the subject of judicial decisions it is necessary to recall first principles.

When the Constitution of the United States was formed, the framers, while they wished the people to be sovereign, determined that this sovereignty should be limited by a written Constitution, and provided that the judicial power should extend to all cases arising under the Constitution. Accordingly from the beginning of the Government the Supreme Court has exercised this jurisdiction and has repeatedly annulled acts of the different State Legislatures which attempted to limit the powers of the General Government. Without these decisions we should have had no Government that was worth preserving or that could have survived the shock of the Civil War. In effect, therefore, the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of each State means what the highest Court declares it to mean.

But the framers of the various Constitutions under which our people live, whether State or Federal, never intended that the people should have no control over the clauses of the several Constitutions as expounded by the courts. Every Constitution contains within itself provision for its own amendment, and therefore, if the people, after the deliberation which these provisions for amendment require, determine to give to any Legislature power which the existing Constitution denies, as expounded by the courts, it is competent for them to do so.

To apply these principles to the decision of the New York Court of Appeals in the Ives case, which has been so much criticised. I regret this decision. But it was made by judges elected by the people, most of them unanimously elected, and was in accordance with their conscientious judgment of the Constitutional limitations. It is competent for the people of New York to confer upon the Legislature the power which the Court of Appeals held the Legislature does not now possess. This can be done by an amendment adopted by the present Legislature, approved by the Legislature of 1913, and by the vote of the people at the November election in the latter year. Such an amendment has been recommended by Governor Dix. It will soon come up for a vote at Albany. Every good citizen of this State should, in my judgment, urge its adoption upon the Senator and Member of the Assembly in whose district he lives.

There is another amendment, not to the Constitution, but to the Federal law, which would tend to relieve the situation. The plaintiff in

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the Ives case had no right of review in the United States Supreme Court because the decision was in favor of the claim asserted by the defendant. At its last meeting the American Bar Association recommended a change in the Federal statute so that any decision of the highest court of a State upon the meaning of a clause in the United States Constitution could be reviewed in the Supreme Court. A bill for this purpose has been introduced both in the Senate and in the House and referred to the Judiciary Committee of each house. It will be of great service if every one who is interested in this subject should write to the Senator from his State, or the Representative from his district, urging him to vote for this bill. At present the Constitution of the United States means one thing to Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and Washington, and another thing to New York. This certainly ought not so to be.

New York City. EVERETT P. WHEELER.

IS THERE A HIGHER LAW?

I

It seems to me that you evade the question of your correspondent in the reply in your editorial "Is There a Higher Law?"

You know of many crimes the Church has been responsible for because of her belief that she was superior to law, civil or secular. Also that the purpose of the founders of this Government was to avoid any such complications, as shown clearly in their work.

When the "unwritten law" is a successful defense against murder, when Cromwell tells us that his wealthy client moves in a world which we are not permitted to enter or understand, it seems to me that the teaching for to-day ought to be that every one ought to be amenable to the law as recorded in our statutes.

It seems to me that every one of the instances you give of anarchy, lynching, dynamiting, etc., is due to the belief so firmly held by most egotists that they are superior to the law.

I wish you would give some principle to go by if one thinks he has a right to appeal to a "higher law." I don't see from your article what logically prevents me from almost any anarchy. ARTHUR E. INGRAM.

Bristol, Connecticut.

II

Office-holders, from the President of the United States and Judges of the Supreme Court on down through governors, legislators, mayors, city councilmen, justices of the peace, and policemen, are all, *first*, responsible to *God* for the manner in which they discharge their official duties; second, they are responsible to *all the people* over whom they exercise any authority; third, they are next responsible to the party or person who gave them the position of responsibility.

So, too, with the lawyer when he takes a client, whether as an individual, as a corporation, or as a State; he is not *first* responsible to his client and then to the community, but he is first responsible to God for the way in which he treats the community and his client. His end and aim, his objective, ought to be to promote equity and justice in the community, so that it will meet the divine approval. And it is the lack of this true objective so many times that leads lawyers to trample upon the rights of others, by every hook or crook, by every means fair or foul, by unfair use of technicalities, and even by getting perjured witnesses or a bribed jury. Their great aim and object is to clear their client, regardless of equity and justice, and no matter what means are used. Just as the great object of the true physician is, and ought to be, to promote the health of the community, with a consciousness of his accountability, *first* to the Almighty, *second* to the community, and *third* to his patient, so with the lawyer the same order should be observed. Just as it is with the minister of the Gospel. His object ought to be to promote Godlikeness or godliness in the community by the new-created heart in the individual, and then by proper religious instruction. And he is first accountable to God for the methods and plans he uses, then he is responsible to the community, and, third, he is accountable to his particular church, or those who employ him.

We might go through every profession, trade, or calling, and thus show that the individual is first and always responsible and accountable to God for his life, his work, and all of his actions, and that the greater he becomes, the more widespread his influence, and the larger his sphere of opportunity in the world, the more important it is that he recognize these responsibilities in their proper relations. The fact that a man has shown ability, and a corporation or his fellowmen have selected or chosen him to work for or represent them, in no way changes the order of his accountability as above shown, but rather intensifies it; for "every one of us shall give account of himself to God," and no juggling of facts, no greatness of position, no higher education, and no mere shrewdness of business or policy can shift or change the individual responsibility. DR. W. O. HENRY.

Omaha, Nebraska.

WHAT SHOULD A LAWYER DO?

Apropos of your recent editorial on Mr. Storey's "The Reform of Legal Procedure," you emphasize his pertinent question, "Why shouldn't he [the criminal] incriminate himself?" May a layman ask another question regarding criminal procedure? Why should lawyers hold it to be proper and in keeping with the ethics of the profession for an attorney to undertake the defense of a person whom he

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knows beforehand to be guilty, or to maintain such defense after he finds out the guilt of his client? Is it not the object of a criminal trial to ascertain the facts of the case, and to make possible the administering of the law accordingly? One understands that it may be essential for an attorney to pilot his client through the process of pleading guilty, and to present extenuating circumstances, if such exist; but why should it be "ethical" for a trained practitioner to use all his skill in baffling the process of justice, when he knows beforehand of his client's guilt, or discovers it during the trial? If the bar associations would cease to hold this practice as permissible and "ethical," would the change not work tremendously toward the strengthening of public confidence in the legal profession, and especially in those lawyers who undertake the defense of criminals? As it is, we give an absurd advantage to the criminal when we exempt him from testifying on important phases of his case, and we treble that advantage when we allow trained men to use their utmost skill to baffle the whole effort of the court to apply the law. E. O. JAMES.

Berkeley, California.

"WE THE PEOPLE" AND THE CONSTITUTION OF 1787

The ultimate source of authority in our representative Republic lies in the people. The people delegate this authority through the Constitution to Congress, to the President, and to the Supreme Court of the United States. When, and under what circumstances, have the people the right to reassume the powers so delegated?

If we give the judiciary the sole right to interpret our Constitution for us, when have "we the people" a right to express our dissatisfaction with our Supreme Court's decisions and decide for ourselves?

I was brought up in a family that defied the Fugitive Slave Law and refused to obey it. Yet it was undoubtedly Constitutional. I was a mere child when the Dred Scott decision was announced, but I nevertheless remember that the discussions which I heard at the time made on my mind the impression that the constituted authorities of my own country had conspired together in inconceivable wickedness. I lived in a circle in which John Brown's acts of blood and violence were as holy as the Beatitudes and the prayer upon the cross. So, as it seems to me, I was born to rebellion, and cradled in (higher) lawlessness.

As near as I can picture it in my mind, something over a hundred years ago, thirty-nine most estimable gentlemen, of varying degrees of ability and every possible variety of opinion, signed a certain document known as "The Constitution of the United States of America."

The Nation at that day consisted of about three million people dwelling along the Atlantic seacoast. To-day the same Nation has between eighty and ninety million people dwelling between the two great oceans, and reaching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes. How is this Constitution of "we the people" of 1787 related to "we the people" of 1912?

When the farmer sent his one-gallon jug to the store for molasses, the deacon charged him every time for two gallons of molasses on the bill. "Deacon," he said, "I don't mind paying you for the extra gallon; but I'm afraid you'll spile the jug. Why, the strain on't must be terrible!"

Is our Constitution like the tent that the fairy gave the king, so fine in texture that it could be packed in a nutshell, and yet so vast in expansiveness that it could shelter great armies?

Now let The Outlook have some illuminating remarks under the caption "The Constitution of 1787 and the Nation of 1912."

New York City. CHARLES EDWARD STOWE.

NOT AMERICAN HANDIWORK

From a sense of justice will you allow me to make a correction? Mr. Powell stated in "All Aboard for Cape Town" in your issue of November 25 last that the bridge over the Zambesi River at the Victoria Falls was built by Americans. Not a single rivet was made in America. It was designed by Sir Douglas Fox & Partners, of London, and manufactured and erected by the Cleveland Bridge and Engineering Company, of Darlington, England (not in Ohio).

Rhodes, without ever having seen the actual site, expressed the wish that it should pass close to the falls. A possible site, but one wholly prohibitive from cost both of construction and of upkeep, besides being destructive of the natural beauty of the scene, exists across the entrance from the main chasm to the "boiling pot;" but the present one, though five hundred feet farther downstream, while permitting both a view of the falls and a shower-bath if required, emphasizes, by comparison, the stupendous dimensions of this masterpiece of nature.

Toronto, Canada. C. B. FOX.

TO THE FOOT OF THE CLASS

We confess to an error in spelling. The name of the composer of the opera "Lobetanz" is spelled, not Thiele, but Thuille.—THE EDITORS.

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BY THE WAY

A college that needs nothing is a cheering spectacle in these days when every mail brings appeals for help in raising million-dollar subscriptions in order that other millions may be secured. The happy college is Bowdoin. Its President, William DeWitt Hyde, is quoted as saying, "Bowdoin now has a perfect plant, which with its endowment represents about $3,000,000, and at present the college needs nothing."

King George is one of the best shots in England. In one of the hunts organized for him in India twenty-four tigers were killed by the King. This is considered a remarkable record, even if kings usually make good bags in hunts that are arranged for them.

One of the curious facts in connection with the destruction of the Equitable Building in New York City was the survival for more than two weeks, amid the ruins, of a guinea pig, which had successfully maintained its existence not only against starvation, but against the intense cold that followed the fire.

What was perhaps the oldest dwelling-house in the United States (though St. Augustine, Florida, Santa Fé, New Mexico, and Plymouth, Massachusetts, may dispute the surmise) has just been torn down, as a necessity of its general decay. This was the Sayre house, in Southampton, Long Island. It was built in 1648.

At a Conference on Hospital Social Service in New York City one of the speakers said that the hospital of the future must keep a record of the social histories of all patients, just as now their medical histories are kept. Rhubarb and soda, said another speaker, illustrating the necessity for psychological remedies for patients, had in one case proved useless as a cure for indigestion until the sufferer, a grief-stricken mother, was relieved from worry over an absent boy.

H. G. Wells, the novelist, finds one of the advantages of the life of an author to be the opportunity of "no longer reading in books and papers but hearing and touching at first hand the big discussions that sway men, the initiatives that shape human affairs." Mr. Wells was "destined to be a shopkeeper," and appreciates all the more the freer air that he breathes as a result of cheating his destiny.

Five seekers for thrills recently crossed Lake Erie on the ice to Canada and back, traveling in an automobile. At one point a fissure several feet wide nearly daunted them, but, being near an island, they found planks and bridged the crack, completing their journey in safety.

While the weather this winter has been exceptionally severe in the East and the Middle West, newspaper reports say that Alaska has had an unusually mild season—in some places 15 degrees warmer than ever before recorded. The change is ascribed to a nearer approach of the Japan Current to the coast.

In the manufacturing establishments of New York City more people are employed, it is estimated, than in all the mills and factories of Massachusetts. The aggregate production of the city exceeds in value that of the States of Illinois, Ohio, or New Jersey.

The high price of butter has caused boycotts of this table necessity—or luxury, as the boycotters regard it—in various parts of the country. In Chicago the consumption of butter is said to have fallen off thirty per cent during one week as a result of the boycott.

In one of its periodical exposures of proprietary fakes, "Collier's" tells of a patent medicine which was actually sold under the name "Humbug Oil." P. T. Barnum would have rejoiced to see this vindication of his assertion that "the American people love to be humbugged."

Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany celebrated his fifty-third birthday January 27. Considering the Kaiser's reputation as a somewhat militant figure, it is interesting to recall the fact that the only European war in which his country has been engaged during his life so far took place when he was eleven years old. It was the day after his twelfth birthday that one of the greatest triumphs of German arms occurred—the capture of Paris, January 28, 1871.

Manuscripts of famous books of the present time and of the future will probably be of little interest to bibliographers as compared with those of the past, for nearly all book manuscripts are now typewritten, and thus have no special individuality. But the genuine holograph "copy" of the old literary masters is treasured and brings good prices; for example, Sir Walter Scott's "Life of Jonathan Swift," in the original manuscript, with annotations, brought $1,910 at the recent Hoe sale.

"What struck me most about the women of Boston," says Sarah Bernhardt in her recently published memoirs, "was the harmony and softness of their gestures. Brought up among the severest and harshest of traditions, the Bostonian race seems to me to be the most refined and the most mysterious of all the American races." The only comfort for the New York, Chicago, and Sacramento races of Americans, in the face of this somewhat invidious comment, is that the impression was formed by the eminent actress in the year 1879.

A minute fly was responsible recently for the calling of a special session of the California Legislature. This insect is the Mediterranean fruit-fly, and California's magnificent fruit industry, which last year brought in $125,000,000, is threatened by its introduction from Hawaii, where it has proved very destructive. The Legislature, on the advice of Professor A. J. Cook, State Horticultural Commissioner, adopted measures which it is hoped will keep out the pest.

Of 4,501 vessels from foreign ports that arrived at New York City in 1911, only eleven were sailing ships. In a few years a "square-rigger" will be almost as great a curiosity as the caravels of Columbus.

Germany takes the war aeroplane seriously. Armored automobiles for fighting aerial craft are now in use by the German army. They have a turret at one end, from which a quick-firing gun points perpendicularly upward, and a cellular ammunition magazine at the other, with a protected compartment for the chauffeur.

Admirers of the writings of that inspired colporteur, George Borrow, author of "The Bible in Spain," will be interested in the announcement that a memorial tablet has been affixed to the house in which he lived in London—No. 22 Hereford Square, Brompton. Another tablet of literary interest recently placed in London is at No. 17 Red Lion Square, W. C., the home at one time of D. G. Rossetti, William Morris, and Edward Burne-Jones.

New railways now building in South America, according to a writer in "Chambers's Journal," promise increased stability for government as well as advantages for commerce. "It may be taken as an axiom," he says, "regarding that part of the world, that the more railways a country has, the fewer revolutions." The most important of the railways referred to is the one connecting Chile and Argentina—the first transcontinental railway in South America; this has just been completed.

A novelty in railway comfort that has not been introduced even on our most luxurious "limited" is to be used on a railway connecting Chile with Bolivia. This railway rises to a height of 14,105 feet above sea-level, and at this altitude many persons become subject to mountain sickness. An "oxygen compartment" is to be provided for such persons, in which they may find relief by breathing air that has the same percentage of oxygen as at sea-level.

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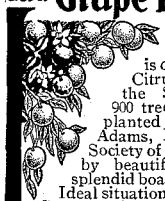

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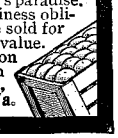

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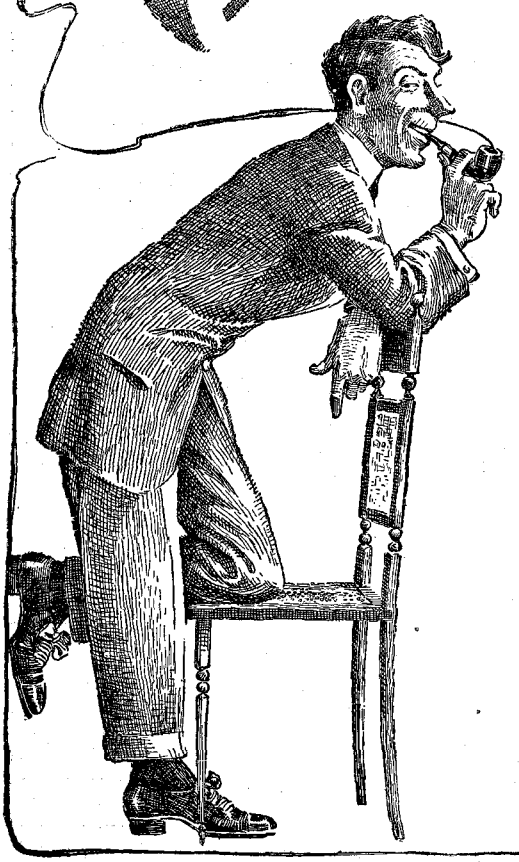

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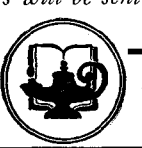
Charles Scribner's Sons  **153-157 Fifth Ave., N.Y.**

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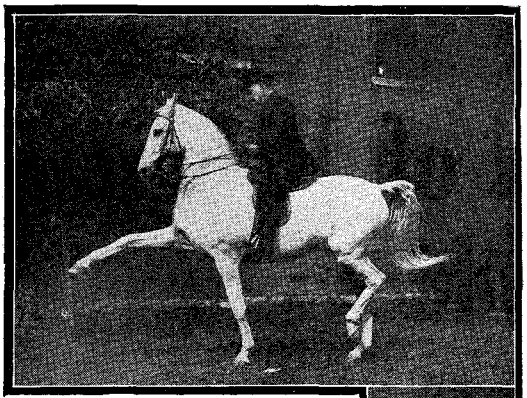

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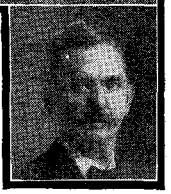

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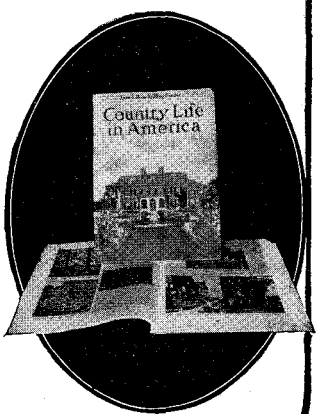

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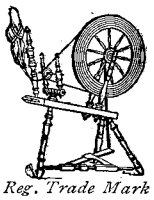

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